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THE
SHORT HISTORY
OF THE

Regal Succession,

And the Rights of the several
Kings recorded in the Ho-
ly Scriptures,
Enlarged and improved in a THIRD EDITION:

Illustrated with SEASONABLE REMARKS on
Mr. Whiston's SCRIPTURE POLITICKS,
and several other modern Tracts and Sermons on
the same Subject.

The whole written with an Eye to that most Ere-
ctable Fact, for which our Nation is justly visi-
ted with the Divine Displeasure, even to this Day:
And dedicated to all the True Sons of the CHURCH
of ENGLAND.

*Iurum cuiusq; Tho. Horne
1720. Pro domo Authoris Rev.*

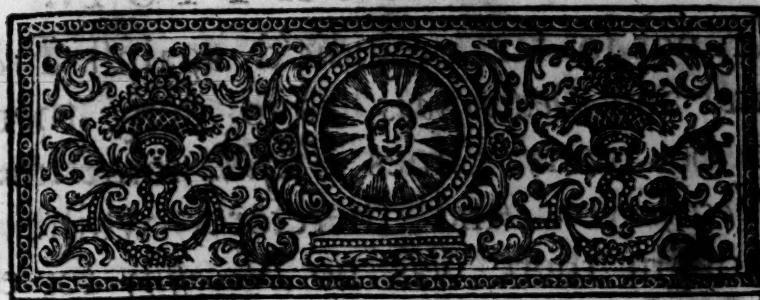
By a Presbyter of the same Church. + Mr. Linjay.

We all know, that 'tis not what is artfully pleaded, but what
is fully proved; not what may be said by Us, but what the
Law says, that ought to be our Rule, in all such Cases.
Whist. Script. Polit. Dedicat. to B. Bangor, p. xx. — As we
said before, so say I now again, ' If any Man preach any
other Gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him
be accursed., Galat. 1. 9.

London, printed for the Author, and sold by John
Morphew near Stationer's-Hall.

I Have examined Their Opinions, with the
same Freedom that They have proposed
them, and which the Interest of Truth and
Righteousness require, as I conceive, in this
Case. And this Freedom, I believe, will not
be offensive to *Themselves*: For, if they will
stand, it will give *Them* further Opportunity
to clear them; but, if they will not, as I ve-
rily think they will not, it will concern All,
and no Person more than *Themselves*, to be
shewed the Falshood of them. *Kettlew.*

Vol. ii. Fol. 197.



30 Jan. 1719-20.

T O T A L L T H E
True Sons
O F T H E
CHURCH of England.



HO' I have a great Aversion
to the fulsome Flatteries, and
other Impertinences, which
are oftentimes, by our *Fashionable Writers*, foisted in between their
Title-Page and Book (as if they wan-
ted somewhat of a Foil to make their
following Pages seem the brighter): yet

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I'm

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I'm not so far prejudic'd against *Prefaces* and *Dedications*, as to deny them to be many Times *Useful*, sometimes *Necessary*. And therefore, whilst I thought there was no *Necessity* for either, I ventured into the World, without *Patron*, without *Apology* (And who would not have perswaded himself, as I did, that a *faithful Extract* out of the *Holy Scriptures*, might have been sufficiently protected, as well as warranted, by *their Authority?*) : But, since I have had full Experience, that the **best Cause** is not always the most favourably heard, and that even those of **God and the King** have oftentimes the *most Adversaries*, in this World, I thought it high Time, to bethink my self of some *Patron*, in whose Countenance I might find Encouragement.

And where can I so reasonably presume upon a Defence against the impertinent *Cavils*, the groundless *Criticisms*, and the odious *Reflections* of the open and secret Enemies of the *Church* and *Monar-*

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Monarchy, as from You, whose Common Concern this is? For the Rights of the Church can't be violated, but your Religion (or, at least, the Exercise of it) will become precarious: Neither can those of the Crown be invaded, without involving every private Subject (and more especially You, who by Principle are the most inviolably attach'd thereto) in the Common Calamity. For, such hath formerly been, and I hope still may be, the Characteristick of that Church, of which we are Members, that it hath stood unshaken in its Loyalty among all the Storms of Fury, and Paroxysms of Madness, which have seized our Nation. For neither the Rage of the Heathen, nor Madness of the People, that imagined a vain Thing; not the Fears and Rumours of Innovations in Religion, dressed up with all the amazing Circumstances of Horror; not secret Underminings, and open Batteries; not the Force of Threatning, nor Power of Perswasif-
on;

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‘ on ; nor all other Stratagems of rebellious Minds, could ever draw off one True Son of the Church from his Allegiance and Loyalty : Loyalty being the Badge of the Church and Clergy of England ; and there being no truer Shibboleth to distinguish her True Sons, from those that are spurious and pretended Ones ’ (a).

And yet, it is not your Concern alone, but that of every English Subject. For since, as hath been lately well observed, the King has at least the same Right with every private Person, and a much greater Right, as he sustains the Person and Fortunes of every private Man in that Community , (b), It follows, that whenever the Rights of the King are injuriously attempted, those of every private Subject must be sensibly affected ; and consequently, every private Subject in the Community, ought to

(a). Heyrick’s Serm. 26. Jul. 1685. p. 10, 11. (b). Serm. at Worcest. 7 June 1716, by E. Chandler, D. D. &c. p. 11.

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interest himself therein, and make it his own Case. But, that this is even our indispensable Duty, we have also the express Authority and Evidence of our *Blessed Saviour*; who, in what he says relating to himself, plainly intimates, That, whenever a King's Person, or Rights, are in Danger, from either the Hands, Pens, or Tongues of his Enemies, it is the *Duty* of all his Subjects to assist him, by all manner of Ways, and when Occasion requires it, to *fight that he should not be delivered to his Jewish Enemies* (a).

' This, my Brethren, (to use the Words of a late Eminent *Divine*) is not
' only the *Best*, but the *Only True Cause*
' of God in this World, for which *All*
' Subjects are *bound in Conscience* to
' Fight; the Cause of their *Lawful So-*
' *veraign*, that which he authorizes,
' either by his Person, or his *Commis-*
' *sion*, or his *Allowance* (b).

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(a). St. John. xviii. 36. (b) Sprat's Serm. Apr. 20. 1682

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The fatal Consequences of the Neglect of this Duty, in the Beginning of the Troubles of our Royal Master, argue strongly also, from our own Experience, as Englishmen, against the like Negligence, whenever it pleases God Almighty, for our National Sins, to afflict us with the like National Judgments.

For, then, our undoubted Lawful Sovereign was, by his Natural-born and Sworn Subjects, Resisted, Imprisoned, Deposed, and Murthered: His undoubted Son and Heir first driven into Popish Countries, for Protection and Substance, and then, under a Charge of Popery, &c. Renounced, Attainted, Abjured, and a Price (much greater than Thirty Pieces of Silver) set upon his Head; tho' in Truth, if he had been a Papist indeed, it had been his Misfortune only, but their own Fault.

For, (as a late Divine observed) those Rebels, by banishing the Royal Family, cast them into the very Jaws of Popery and Seduction, and not on-

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‘ ly led but drove them into Temptation.’
Upon which he expostulates thus.
‘ And now will these Fellows plunge
‘ Men over Head and Ears in a Ditch,
‘ and then knock out their Brains, for
‘ having a Spot upon their Clothes?
‘ kindle a Flame round about them,
‘ and then, with tragical Outcries, re-
proach them for being singed? Do
‘ all that they can, compassing even
‘ Sea and Land, to make a Profelyte
‘ to Popery, and then strip him of his
‘ Inheritance for being so? O! the
‘ Equity, Reason, and Humanity of a
‘ *True Protestant, Fanatic Zeal!* Much
‘ according to the Devil’s Method,
‘ first to draw Men to Sin, and then to
‘ damn and destroy them for it (*a*)?’

But further, the *Bishops and Clergy*,
who adhered to the Ancient and Or-
thodox Doctrines of the *Church of*
ENGLAND, were turned out of their
Freeholds by pretended *Acts or Ordinan-*

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(a) *South’s Serm. Vol. vi. p. 27, 28.*

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ces of a *Rebel Parliament*: And others (after the Order of *Jeroboam!*) *Treasonably* and *Schismatically* brought upon the Stage, to act the Parts of *Kings and Priests* in the respective Offices of the *Church and Kingdom of Christ!* Our *Ancestors*, the *True Churchmen and Loyal Subjects*, were forced to retire into *Upper Rooms*, (as their Exemplars, the *Primitive Christians*, did, in the Time of the like Persecutions) (a) there privately to *pray unto that God, who seeth in Secret*; (b) (nay, and the *good King himself*, for Want of his *Orthodox Clergy*, was, during his Confinement, glad to be his *own Chaplain* in his Bedchamber, rather than join with the *intruded Schismatics*); while the Pulpits and *Parish-Churches* were open to every body, but such as had the *Right and Lawful Call* to them! Then, as a faithful and conscientious Adherence to the *Lawful King* was accounted *High Treason*; so to serve

(a) *Acts* i. 13, &c.

(b) *St. Math.* vi. 6. xviii. 19.

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serve God, according to his own Institution, was reckoned an *High Crime and Misdemeanour* ! And, in a Word, the best Subjects were frequently sequester'd, and other ways reduced to Rags and Poverty, for the Sake of a good Conscience ; while the *Usurpers*, and their *Adherents*, by the Means of unwarrantable *Compliances*, received their good Things in this Life, being clothed in Purple and fine Linnen, and faring sumptuously every Day (a) !

To bring all which about, those audacious Rebels began first with Jealousies and Fears (as they pretended) of Popery ; which they falsely and maliciously insinuated against the best King, and one of the best Archbishops, that the best of Churches was ever bless'd with. *False*ly, I say, to shew their Malice : Though, if the King had indeed been of that Church, it would not have follow'd, that our Church must have been

b 2 ruin'd;

(a) St. Luke xvi. 19, 25.

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ruin'd ; since 'we might have a Freedom of Religion under a *Popish Government*, and a *Popish Direction* (a).'

And besides, as we have God's repeated Promises to take care of his *Church* in all its *Dangers*, there is nothing for *Us* to do, but to use *Lawful Means* only for its Security, and trust in *Him* for the Effect. Whereas the contrary Procedure, of *Reviling*, *Resisting*, *Imprisoning*, *Deposing*, *Banishing*, or *Murthering* God's *Lawful Vicegerent*, under the specious Pretence of securing *Religion*, is condemned by all true *Englishmen*, all true *Protestants*, all true *Christians*. For 'tis certain, that 'no Jealousies or Fears, no threatening Dangers can justify any unwarrantable Means of our Preservation, or make us forget our Duty to God and the King !' (b). No ! That is going to the Devil for Help in God's Cause ; and is

(a) B. Hoadi. Serm. 22. Mar. 1707. (b) Mr. Sam. Adams's Serm. against Rebell. 1716. p. 24.

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is acting upon the Principles of those who hold it lawful to *do Evil that Good may come*; of whom the inspired *Apostle* has declared, that their *Damnation is just!* (a).

However, thus those pretended *Patriots* acted: And having instilled that groundless Apprehension of *Popery* into the credulous Mobb, as the necessary and unavoidable Consequence thereof, (and, as if *Englishmen* had all been *Slaves* to the *Popish Kings* before the *Reformation!*) they alarmed the Nation, with the Danger of **Tyranny** and **Arbitrary Power!**

Then their Busines was, by their *seditious Pamphlets and Sermons*, to prejudice the unthinking Multitude against the Government, both in *Church and State*, as *Usurpations* upon the *Liberties* of the *Free-born People!* and to perswade them to exert themselves, in order

(a) See Bradf. Serm. 5. Nov. 1696. and Milb. 30. Jan.
715. Rom. iii. 8.

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order to the Recovery of their pretended *Native Freedom*.

The better to do which, they impudently asserted (and demurely quoted the *Holy Scriptures*, as if they could have found Evidence in the *Word of God* against his own Institutions !) that neither the *Regal*, nor *Episcopal Power* had any Ground or Foundation in the sacred Records ; but that all Power, *Ecclesiastical* as well as *Civil*, was radically, or originally, in the *People*, and therefore but a *Trust*, which the *Trustees* must be *accountable* for to them ; and consequently, that the *People* might justly *Deprive* the One, and *Depose* the Other (yet, and *Murder* Both) whenever, they thought, the *Publick Good* might be advanced thereby.

These, and the rest of their *rebellious Tenets* were so manifestly contrary to *Scripture*, *History*, *Law*, *Reason*, and even to *Common Sense* too, that many (and among those that good King himself, whose *Credulity* and *Clemency* were his

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his greatest, if not his only Faults) would not be perswaded to suspect the Sense, as well as Loyalty, of the People of *England*, so far, as to apprehend any Danger therefrom. But alas ! (so little Assurance is there of the Affections of the Multitude, that) when it was too late to rectify it, they were all convinced of their Mistake : Insomuch, that when the King issued his *Declaration*, in *Answer* to that of the 5th of May, 1642, concerning the *Militia*, he attributed the chief Cause of all those Troubles, to those very *Pamphlets* and *Papers*, which he had before thought below the High and Royal Dignity, wherein God had placed him, to take Notice of. And therein *His Majesty* complained, That 'whilst the *Presses* swarmed with, and every Day produced new Tracts against the Establish'd Goverment of the *Church and State*, most Men wanted the Courage or the *Conscience* to write, or the Opportunity and Encouragement to publish

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‘ lish such composed sober Animadver-
‘ sions, as might either preserve the
‘ Minds of his good Subjects from such
‘ Infection, or restore and recover
‘ them, when they were so in-
‘ fected (a).’

Agreeably to which, the Great Council of the Nation, in a *Lawful Parliament* Assembled, after the *Happy Restoration* of the *Son and Heir of the Royal Martyr*, declared the true Sense of a *Free People*, as follows; ‘ That the Growth and Encrease of the (then) late Troubles and Disorders did, in a very great Measure, proceed from a Multitude of Seditious *Sermons*, *Pamphlets*, and *Speeches*, daily preached and published, with a transcendent Boldness, defaming the Person and Government of His (then) *Majesty* and his *Royal Father*, wherein Men were too much encouraged: And, above all, from the wilful Mis-

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(a) Clarend. *Hist. Rebe*!. Vol. I. p. 522. in 8vo.

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stake of the Supream and Lawful Authority, whilst Men were forward to cry up and maintain those Orders and Ordinances, Oaths and Covenants, to be Acts Legal and Warrantable, which, in themselves, had not the least Colour of Law or Justice to support them. From which kind of Distempers, as the present Age is not wholly freed, so Posterity may be apt to relapse into them, if timely Remedy be not provided (a).

If then, according to the Sense of the Nation (which is never to be truly known but in such Free Parliaments) the late Troubles and Disorders (consequent upon the Grand Rebellion which we this Day commemorate) did indeed in a very great Measure, proceed from seditious Sermons, Pamphlets, and Speeches; and above all, from the wilful Mistake of the Supreme and Lawful Authority, &c.

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(a) Stat. xiii. Car. 2. Cap. 1.

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(as you see they did); how much does it behove all **True Churchmen** and **Loyal Subjects** to encounter such *feditious Sermons, Pamphlets, and Speeches*, and, *above all*, to do their utmost Endeavour to give their Fellow Subjects a true Notion of the *Supreme and Lawful Authority*, the *Mistake* of which, it seems, has been so destructive to our Nation! *Remember this*, therefore, and *shew your selves Men* (a)! *Subjects!* *Christians!* And since (we have the same Authority to say, that) the present Age is not wholly freed from those kind of *Distempers*, see that you *watch against them*, and *stand fast in Faith* (and Loyalty)! *quit you like Men!* Be strong (b)! So that, it may please God, *a timely Remedy* being happily provided, neither we, nor our *Posterity*, may hereafter be subject to so fatal a *Relapse*. But, if it should be our Misfortune now, as it was then, that *Men want the Courage or the Conscience*

(a) Isa. xlvi. 8.

(b) 1. Cor. xvi. 13.

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science, to oppose such a growing Evil, whilst it is in their Power, how just will it be in *Almighty God* to give us up to be a Prey to the like *Usurpations*, and to *consume both us and our King* (a)!

--- which God avert.

' What the State of Things is now, ---
' I shall not need to observe. We all
' see it, and know it full well. And
' if I should say moreover, that
' there are some still among us, as
' deeply tainted with those Princi-
' ples of *Sedition* and *Rebellion*, which
' brought about *this Day's Tragedy*, as
' any of their Fathers were; and who,
' if they had liv'd in their Days, would
' have been as forward as the for-
' wardest of them were, in unhinging
' the *Government*, and destroying the
' *Church*, nay, and in bringing their
' *Sovereign* to the Block; though some
' perhaps would be angry at my Say-
ing this, I fear it would be only for

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“my speaking a *Truth out of Season* ;
and they, I believe, would be most
angry with me for saying it, who
best know it to be a *Truth* (a).”

That I might offer my Mite towards
the putting a Stop to so contagious a
Distemper (at least so far as the *Holy*
Scriptures are concerned), and in Hopes
that I might in some Measure contrib-
ute, either to *preserve the Minds* of his
Majesty’s good Subjects from such *Infecti-*
ons, or restore and recover some of those
who were already *infected*, by the noto-
rious Abuse and Perversion thereof, I
took the *Courage* (rather than be liable
to the Imputation of the *Want of Consci-*
ence, which the *Martyr of this Day*
complains of) to offer to the Publick,
A short History of the Regal Succession,
and the Rights of the several Kings recor-
ded in the Holy Scriptures; wherein it
abundantly appears, how far the *Re-*
publican and Erastian Schemes are from
being

(a) Blackb. Serm. 31. Jan. 1708. pag. 210

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being warranted by those *Sacred Records*, to which our *Modern Assertors* (as they call themselves) of the *Rights of the Christian Church*, and the *Liber-ties of the People*, have the Confidence to appeal for the Truth of them.

For there we find not the least Foot-step of a **State of Nature** (when Men are pretended to have been *born free* from any Yoke of Government, that is, literally, **Sons of Belial!**) No **Popular Election of Kings or Priests!** No **Original Contract** betwixt the *Governours* and *Governed!* No **Coercion** upon their *Sacred Persons!* Nor any **Resistance, Rebellion, or even Self-Defence** against (much less any **Deposition or Murder** of) the **Lord's Anointed**, but what is plainly condemned by the *Holy Ghost*. But, on the contrary, there we find Evidence as clear as the Sun, that **Government** (and even the **Monarchical Form** thereof) was *originally instituted by God himself*: That the *Succession* there-

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thereto was, as well by the Law of God as by that of *Nature*, *Hereditary* from Father to Son, and so to the *Next of Kin*, whether Male or Female, according to **Priority of Birth** and **Proximity of Blood**, without Regard to other *Personal Endowments* or *Qualifications*. That though such *Succession* was sometimes *defeated*, and the Reins of Government put into other Hands, yet whenever such *Revolutions* happened, they were always held as *Unlawful* and *Usurpations*, unless they carried with them very plain Evidence of their being the *Lord's Doing* (as in the Cases of *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*) : That as *Kings* were *unaccountable* to the People, for their Administration in the *State*, so were the *High Priests*, in the *Church*, absolutely *independent* upon the *State*, in Relation to the Exercise of their *spiritual Powers*; and a *Schism* in the *Church* was formed against the *One*, in the same Manner as a *Rebellion* and *Usurpation* in the *State* were formed against the *Other*:

And

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And accordingly they are our *Lawful* Governours, both in *Church* and *State*, to whom alone, (and not to every *Oliver*, or other *Usurper* or *Intruder*, who gets *Possession* of the *Regal* or *Episcopal* *Throne*) our *Obedience* is due, by the *Apostolical Precepts* (a).

While that was in the Press, another Book happened to be published upon the same Subject, intituled, *Scripture Politicks*, or, *An impartial Account of the Origin and Measures of Government, Ecclesiastical and Civil, taken out of the Books of the Old and New Testament, &c.* by *William Whiston, M. A. Oc. 1717.*

This raised my Curiosity, to see, how far I had the Happiness to agree with a Person, whose *Name* is so well known. But, upon the Perusal thereof, I found his *Scripture Politicks* and mine so very much unlike, as if they had not been taken out of the same *Record*: For I observed, that that Gentle-

(a) *Rom.* xiii. 1. *Titus* iii. 1. *Hebr.* xiii. 17. *1. Pet.* ii. 13.

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man had taken a great deal of Pains to make his *Bible* a Warrant for the *Republican Scheme of Government*; whereas my Observations therefrom were directly to the contrary. However, I had so humble an Opinion of *my own Judgment*, that I brought as many of the controverted Passages, as my Time would allow me, to the Test of the *Bible*, to which we severally referred ourselves, for our Vouchers: And, upon the Comparison, I affirm, that in *my Bible* (of which I have several Editions) I could find no manner of Cause for me to have altered any thing in my *short History*, had the Copy been in my own, as it was in the *Printer's Hands*. But, since I found so many, and so very great (even *Fundamental*) Variances between us, lest the unwary Reader should be drawn into dangerous Errors, without Examination, I took Occasion, in a short *Postscript*, to give a general Caution against it, as followeth. ' Since the foregoing *short History* was put to

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the Press, I have seen Mr. Whiston's new Book of Scripture Politicks; wherein, upon a transient View, I find, that that Celebrated Author's Judgment does Honour to my Observations, in many Particulars. For, whoever has carefully read over these Sheets, must needs, by this Time, be convinced, that Mr. Whiston is notoriously mistaken, where he affirms, that it appears in Scripture, that nothing, in Ordinary Cases, but the free Choice or Recognition of a People, gives a just Title to a Prince to govern them (a); as well as in several Propositions and Arguments tending to the Proof thereof (b). I could likewise point out many Places of that Book, wherein the Author seems to have studied other Politicks more than those of the Holy Scriptures; but, as that would lead me beyond the Bounds of this my Undertaking, I shall, at present leave the Particu-
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(a) Dedicat. p. iii. (b) See Propos. viii. &c.

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lars to our impartial Reader's own Animadversion. I know, Mr. Whiston has too great an Aversion to Property, to pretend to *Infallibility*: And therefore, I hope, he will not take it ill, that I have made a little free with his *Name* and *Writings*. However, if he does, I desire no Favour from him, but only this, that the *Holy Bible* may be allowed for the Rule of our *Scripture Politicks*.

Upon this, I expected that he would either have offered some better Proof of his *Propositions*, which I had thus charged with notorious *Mistakes*, or else have called upon me to make good my Charge, by exhibiting the particular Articles of that general Impeachment: But, all in vain! Mr. Whiston's Reputation in *Scripture Politicks* is (it seems) so well established, that nothing I can say needs to give him the Trouble of a Vindication; and that of a poor *Anonymous Writer* is not worth any other judicious Person's Notice; so that hitherto

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thereto, as Mr. *Whiston's* is undefended, so my little Book remains unconfuted, unanswered. I own indeed that I have met with some few Hints, in accidental Conversation, which have convinced me that I was too *short* in the Explanation of two or three Particulars: But I never yet have read or heard of any thing therein mistaken, except only one Passage, in the Case of *Jeboabaz* the Son of *Josiah*, and some few trivial *Errata* of the Press.

In this therefore (to which I have been induced by several Motives, needless here to be mentioned) I have not only taken Care to correct that Oversight, but have also intermixed *Remarks* upon several Cases, as I had Opportunity to meet with them, misreported, by Mr. *Whiston*, and several others; though in Truth the Number of such misreported Cases is so great, and those *Writers* and *Preachers*, who laid themselves open to Censure for it, so many, that I had not Room to take

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proper Notice of them all. I might add, that several of them are so very high in Place, and the Esteem of the World, that it might have been more for my own private *Interest* (had I consulted *that* more than I do the *Truth*) to have let them quite alone: But whilst our Controversy is about the *Holy Scriptures*, which ought to be the Rule of our Conduct in every thing, the more eminent and popular the Persons are who appear on the other Side of the Question, so much the more Danger is there of *Infection* therefrom, and so much the more Necessity for us to be upon our Guard against it.

Perhaps indeed I should not have troubled you with particular *Remarks* upon Mr. *Whiston's Anti-Scriptural Politicks* (after such a general Censure of them) had he stood alone, and not been seconded and supported by some, whose Notions, though every whit as pernicious, are not usually read with so good a Guard as those of Mr. *Whiston*, and therefore are the more capable

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pable of doing Mischief. Besides which, as theirs are scattered abroad in many different *Pamphlets* and *Sermons*, but his reduced to the narrow Compass of one Book, I thought, that in confuting him, I should confute *them*; and the same Answer that you meet with here, to his Abuse of the *Holy Scripture*, will serve any of the rest, wheresoever you find them; which is the Reason I have so rarely quoted any other.

For my own Part, so long as I have the *Holy Scriptures* for my Foundation, and you *True Churchmen* and *Loyal Subjects* for my *Patrons*, I should not have been discouraged, in the Quest or Defence of the *Truth*, tho' I could have apprehended, that I was, in so doing, necessarily to *wrestle against Principalities, against Powers, against the Rulers of the Darkness of this World, against Spiritual Wickedness in High Places* (a).

I might also have presumed upon the *Laws of the Land*, as my *Warrant*: But, as that is, at present, out of my Sphere,

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(a) *Ephes. vi. 12.*

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my Concern here being wholly with those of God, and this my Undertaking confined to *Scripture Politicks*, I shall leave it to others, to clear our *Constitution*, from the Suspicion of favouring such Notions, as are utterly destructive of all manner of Government in the World. Tho' I cannot but observe, that the same Free Parliament, which attainted the *Regicides*, for the execrable Murther of their *Lawful King*, did also expressly renounce, abominate, and protest against All Proceedings tending thereto (a). And consequently therefore against all those seditious Sermons, Pamphlets, and Speeches, from whence (as is before proved) the Growth and Increase of the then late Troubles and Disorders did in a very great Measure proceed.

But I must not forget to make some Apology for my self, with Regard to the *Stile*, which I am aware may be liable to various Objections. 'Tis certain, that fine Language and well-turn'd Periods

(a) Stat. xii. Car. II. Cap. xxx.

The DEDICATION.

Periods, would have much better recommended the Discourse to the *Common Reader's* Favour: But as I always thought That to be the best Expression, which had the best Effect upon the Judgment and Practice of those to whom it was addressed, so, in this Treatise of the *Constitution* of the *Jewish Government*, I chose to express my self in such Terms, as have a known and determined Sense and Meaning, among those whom I am to expect for my Readers; and therefore I perswade my self, that You will not be Critical, but overlook the unpolished Dress it appears in, and receive the *Truth* to your Protection, for its own sake.

And now, what remains, but that all of us, in our respective Stations, apply our selves dutifully and diligently to the putting a Stop to those *Pernicious Doctrines*, and *Traiterous Practices*, which have heretofore overwhelmed both our *Church* and *State* in one Ruine? Wherein, that our Endeavours may have the better Effect, so as that those horrid Sins

The DEDICATION.

Sins which we have this Day renounc'd, may never be repeated, at least in this our Nation, let us learn, before it be too late, to live in the *true Faith* and *Fear of God*, in *true Loyalty* and *Obedience* to his *Viceroy*, and in *Brotherly Love and Charity* one towards another; and then we may, with the greater Assurance, address ourselves to the *King of Kings* and *Governour of all Things*, in the Words of our most excellent *Liturgy*, to *infatuate and defeat all the secret Counsels of the Ungodly*; to *abate their Pride, asswage their Malice, and confound their Devices*; to *strengthen the Hands of our gracious Sovereign, with Judgment and Justice*, to *cut off all such Workers of Iniquity*, as turn Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction; that they may never again prevail against us, nor triumph in the *Ruine of the Monarchy and his Church amongst us*; which is the hearty Prayer of

Your Well-wisher and
Humble Servant,

J. L.



THE SHORTE
HISTORY
OF THE
Regal Succession, &c.



AVING oftentimes, with great Concern, observed, how much the Minds of *His Majesty's* Subjects are distract'd, by the various Glosses, which *Artful and Designing Men* have put upon the Succession of several of the *Kings* recorded in the *Holy Scriptures*, (every one of them endeavouring to make the Word of God serve his own Turn, whereby *plausible Arguments* are often pass'd upon the unwary Reader for *Authentick Evidence*) (a) I could not but think, it would be of Service to my Countrymen, to lay before them *A short History of the Regal Succession, and the Rights of the several Kings,*

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(a) *Whist. Script. Polit. Dedicat. P. 20.*

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in those sacred Records. And as my only End in this Publication is to prevent a Delusion, and undeceive the deluded: So the best Mean thereto, is, in as Plain and Summary a Manner, as the Nature of the Subject will bear, to continue it down from the beginning of all Things, so far as God's People had any Independent Government among them.

In the doing of which, I have too awful a Regard for the *Subject*, to presume to deal unfaithfully with it: And, as to the *Christian Reader*, I have by constantly quoting *Chapter and Verse*, laid my self at his Mercy to correct me wherever I may happen to be mistaken.

That all just Government whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be Originally derived from God, who is the only Supream, and un-originated, and natural Lord, and Governour of the World: And that they do all some way or other, receive their Sanction from Divine Authority, is not only admitted, but asserted, by Mr. Whiston himself; whose first Fundamental Proposition this is. And this he justly thinks to be so evident to all who believe a God, a Providence, and the Truth of the Scripture, as not to need a particular Proof to them. And " as for those, (*says he,*) who suppose " Government to have originally sprang up from " meer Human Compacts, and from the People, in- " dependently on God, and without any Regard " to his Will and Authority, they seem to me to " suppose Men to have Sprung out of the Earth, " and not to have had God for their Creator: And " also to suppose that all Government has no higher " End to aim at, than the Conveniencies of this " present Life; both which things are entirely con- " trary to Religion, and utterly inconsistent with " the sacred History of the Origin and primitive " Exercise of Government among Men. So that " this cannot deserve a serious Consideration un- " der the present Argument of *Scripture Politicks,* " but,

" but must be left to the *Irreligious Schemes* of the
" *Atheists and Unbelievers*," (a) &c. So evident is
the *Divine Original of Government*, by Mr. Whiston's own
Argument! From which his Proposition, it necessarily follows, that *no Governments, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil* which cannot be *Originally derived from God*, or do not, *some way or other, receive their Sanction from Divine Authority*, are to be esteemed *just Governments*.

And as to the particular *Forms* thereof, whoever believes the *Mosaical Account* of the Creation, and Judges impartially of what he reads, cannot doubt, that *Monarchy* was the first and original Form of Government, and that too *instituted immediately by God himself*, from the beginning of the World. For we read, that as soon as *God had created the Man*, *he gave him a Sceptre, and made him his Vicegerent* (as *Bishop Andrews expresseth it*,) (b) giving him *Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every Living thing that moveth upon the Earth* (c); *his Wife herself not excepted*, to whom the Lord said, *thy Desire shall be to thy Husband*, (or, as it is in our Margin, *Subject to thine Husband*) *and he shall Rule over thee* (d). Which last, being spoken after *Adam had sinned*, plainly sheweth us, that his *Dominion was not founded in Grace*; that is to say, in his *personal Virtue, Goodness and Desert*.

When God had Blessed them with Children, it pleased him, that the *Father*, by his *paternal Authority*, was sole Ruler or *Monarch* over them, and all that proceeded from them, during his Life, ruling them with a Power *Patriarchal, Regal, or Imperial* (e): As every Father would and might do, even

(a) *Script. Polit. p. 1.* (b) *Lectur. fol. 96.* (c) *Genes. i. 28*
(d) — *iii. 16.* (e) *Bishop Overal's Convoc. Book, Lib. I. Cap. 2.*

at this Day, supposing him and his Family to fall into any Places which were not governed by any superiour *Lord*. And, for the better ordering of the Sons and their Families, the *Elder* was, by God himself, declared *Ruler* over the *Younger*. For, tho' Cain was a very Wicked Man, and Abel a Righteous one, insomuch that *the Lord had respect unto Abel, and his Offering, but unto Cain, and to his Offering, he had not respect* (a) : Yet, even to this very Wicked Cain it was, that the Lord, speaking of his Good Brother Abel, said, *Unto thee shall be his Desire, and thou shalt Rule over him*, (b) or, (as it is in the Margin) thou shalt have *the Excellency*, and he shall be subject unto thee; so that neither was his *Dominion founded in Grace*, but in *Nature* only, by virtue of his *Primogeniture*.

I'm willing therefore to hope, that Mr. Whiston had not this Case of Cain and Abel in his Thoughts, when he expressed himself as followeth; " we have not, that I know of, one Example, in all the Bible, where Providence gives the least Preference to the *Eldest Son*, in Point of Government, before the *Youngest*; I mean this (says he) barely on Account of such *Primogeniture*, and without regard to more valuable *Personal Qualifications*" (c): For nothing can be more clear, than that the *more valuable Personal Qualifications* were Abel's, and that it was barely on Account of Primogeniture, that the Preference in point of Government was given to Cain the Eldest Son. And, as this is full to the purpose, so it ought to have the greater Weight, for being the *First and General Rule* in those Cases; especially with Mr. Whiston, who, but Eight Pages before, has himself placed this very Case among the (*not Human but*) *Divine Laws*; where he

(a) Gen. iv. 4. (b) Gen. iv. 7. (c) Script. Polit.

he owns, that "it seems to him to imply, then
"at least, the Inferiority, and in some Degree,
"the Subjection of the Younger Children to the Elder,
"while they were under their Parents Authority,
"and in the same Family, even without regard to
"their Virtue. (a)"

This is a full Concession, that there was such a *Law or Rule*, in the beginning, in favour of the *Eldest Son* against the *Younger*, in Point of *Government*, barely on *Account of Primogeniture*; and that too not *Human*, but *Divine*. But *Mr. Whiston* seems to make it a Question, "Whether that *Law* did continue in Force afterwards, because of *Cain's Abuse of that Power?* And whether it were a *Law* indeed, or only a particular *Injunction* in a particular Case? (b)" Now, that it could be a particular *Injunction*, made in this particular Case, I see no Reason to suppose: Nor can I imagine how that *Author* (who builds so much of his *Scripture Politicks*, upon the Foundation of *Personal Virtue, Goodness, and Desert*) could fancy *Cain*, whose Offerings *God* would not look upon, should nevertheless be so far in his favour, as to gain the Preference in Point of Government, before his *Younger Brother Abel*, whose Offerings *God* had graciously accepted; and that too, at the very time, that (*God knew*) he had premeditated in his Heart, to murder his more Righteous Brother, on Account of that very Acceptance! Is it possible for him to suppose, that *Personal Virtue, Goodness, and Desert* should preponderate with *God*, in the Disposal of such Favours, in all other Cases, and yet that *Cain* only should be singled out as a particular Object of the *Divine Favour*, who had not the least pretence of *Personal Virtue, Goodness, and Desert*, to entitle him thereto?

(a) *Ibid. p. 5.* (b) *Ibid.*

thereto? Nay, who was *destitute of God's Countenance and Favour*, as St. Chrysostom expounds, what we call *going out from the Presence of the Lord* (a)? But I leave it to the Author to reconcile this Contradiction! And, since there is no Reason to think this to have been only a *Particular Injunction in a Particular Case*, we must receive it for a *Law or General Rule*; and conclude, that it did *continue in Force*, notwithstanding *Cain's Abuse of that Power*, which was not unforeseen by *God*, when he declared his *Natural Right* to the *Prerogative of Primogeniture*. Nor does it seem to me without much better Reason to suppose, that *God Almighty*, foreknowing the many Objections that *Worldly-minded Men* would start, in Opposition to this *Divine Law*, thought fit to declare and affirm it, even in the Case of the *worst Elder Brother* that ever lived. For *God* does not here bestow upon *Cain* any new Priviledge, but only confirms unto him what was, by *Nature*, his Right; and argues with him the Unreasonable ness of his Discontent, upon Principles well known and established from the Beginning: as St. Chrysostom most truly expounds it, *Notwithstanding thou hast thus greatly sinned (viz. in not offering to me the first and best of thy Substance, as thy Brother Abel did), yet I have not Deprived thee of the Privileges of thy Primogeniture; but he shall still be subject to thee, as by the Law of Nature is thy Due.* Agreeably to which, the Learned Bishop above-quoted, in this very Case, observeth, That "God shewed plainly, that it is his Will, that in and by the Sin committed, no Man should lose any Privilege, which of Right is due to him, and which before he had; and every Motion, in a Superior, to Sin, doth not discharge him of his Authority. Which is contrary to

(a) *Genes. iv. 16.*

“ to that *false Opinion and Censure* of them, which
 “ think, that even *Princes themselves*, after *Sin*
 “ committed, lose all their *Prerogative and Supre-*
 “ *macy of Government* which they had before, and
 “ that their *Subjects* are not bound to do their
 “ Service any longer to them, but that ever after, their
 “ *Allegiance shall cease*; which is *false*, and *contrary*
 “ to all *Reason*, and not *God's Intent and Will* here.
 “ For *God* faith, and ratifieth here, that *Cain*, tho'
 “ he had thus sinned, both against *God* and his
 “ *Brother*; yet, being the *Elder* and *First-born*, and
 “ so before *Abel*, so there should be a *Superiority* and
 “ *Dominion*, that he should still retain by *Nature*.
 “ And it is *God's Assertion*, that that *Superiority*
 “ should be retained still, and that *Abel* should not
 “ seek to be his *Superiour*; neither did he (a)”.

However, as this *Dominion* of *Cain* over his *Brother* and *Family*, was in *Subordination* to the *First Parent Adam*, whilst he lived: So when he died, *Cain* himself succeeded in the *Sovereignty*, in his own *Right*, as the *First-born*; and, after him, the *Eldest surviving Branch of the Family*, by virtue of *Proximity of Blood*. (For, as the Great St. *Chrysostom* observeth, the *Line of Cain, and with it his Primogeniture, was extinct in Lamech*, that is, at the *Flood*, and not till then:) And hence it came, that the Word *Elder* is used, as well for *Magistracy and Power*, as for *Age and Gravity*, almost in all Languages; which, no doubt, (as another *Judicious Author* observeth,) “ is a Sign, that the first *Governours* were the *Fathers of Families*, and under them the *Eldest Sons* (b)”.

Thus we see, that *Adam's Monarchy* was not only *Oeconomical*, confined to that one little Family which was at first *Created*, but *Political* over a *Society*, consisting of many Families, which were to descend from

(a) *Andrew's Lect. fol. 400.* (b) *Sir Wa. Ral. fol. 151, 152.*

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from him, during his long Life of Nine Hundred and Thirty Years (a); which is the very Ground and Foundation of political Government, and particularly of that Form thereof, which, from one single Person's being the Supreme and Chief over all the rest, is called *Monarchy*. And this, by the way, might serve for a full Answer to Mr. Whiston's Assertion, That, "before the Flood, we have no direct Account of "the Form or Manner of human Governments (b)": As well as to the Appeal of another Celebrated Writer, who recommends it to the Consciences and Common Sense of the Christian Laity, "To search with "their own Eyes, and see, whether they can possibly find a plain and express Passage of Scripture, "in which God instituted any particular Form of "Human Government, for any Nation in the World, "unless they will except one (c)": of which in its proper Place. In the mean time, I beg leave to Appeal to the Consciences and Common Sense of all our Readers, Whether this is not a much more plain and express Passage, than any that Learned Author has ever yet been able to produce, either from Scripture, or the Laws of England, in Favour of certain of his Darling Notions? But further, as to Mr. Whiston, I refer him to his own Second General Proposition, where he agrees with me expressly, that "Paternal Authority over the Children of a Family, was the only Form of Human Government, among such as sprang from one common Parent, before the Multiplication of Mankind, or before their Separation, one from another, into different and distant Families" (d): And insists, that "this is so plainly the Result of the Law of Nature, or of the Will of God, declared, by the Common

(a) Gen. v. 5. (b) Script. Polit. p. 8. (c) Preservat. against Nonj. by B. Bang. p. 13. (d) Script. Pol. p. 3.

" Common Reason of Mankind, and confirmed in the Bible — that there is no need of a particular Proof. Accordingly (says he) Authority, both Ecclesiastical and Secular, was at first, in the same Paternal Hands, both before and after the Flood ; and this for a considerable time also : As appears in every Instance, both in *Genesis* and *Job* ; which are the only Original Authentic Records, of those first Ages " (a) : But, to proceed,

As to the Descendants from *Adam*, we find those of the Elder Branch first recorded, in a direct Line, down to the Flood (b), wherein they were all extinguished : And after that, as if there had never been an *Elder Family*, the Genealogy of the Line of *Seth* begins again, with the History of *Man's Creation* (c), (tho' that had been delivered before;) the better to make out the Genealogy of *Noah*, who was to continue the Succession after the *Flood*, as those had done before it. And yet, tho' we read, that the *Patriarchs* severally begat Sons and Daughters, we find only the Names of the Eldest recorded, as the Heads and Rulers over their respective Families and People, (all the rest being passed over under the General Denomination of Sons and Daughters) ; till becoming generally degenerate, through their Affinity and Intercourse with the Wicked Posterity of *Cain* (d), God was pleased to destroy their Common Posterity ; excepting only *Noah*, who was a just Man and perfect (e), notwithstanding the fashionable Wickedness of the World, and walked with God, steadily and zealously (as St. Chrysostom expresseth it,) not keeping some Commandments and breaking others, but

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of

(a) *Ibid.* p. 4. (b) *Gen. iv. 17, &c.* (c) — v. 1,
&c. (d) *Gen. vi. 2.* (e) *Gen. vi. 9.*

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of Uniform Obedience, and Exact Integrity; and with him was his own Family only preserved.

Now, as before the Flood, *Adam* had been the *Universal Monarch* of the *Old World*, and, as such, had had the *Sole Property* of all that was in it, *during his Life*, and after him, *his Heirs*, in a direct Line of Succession: So, *after* the Flood, *Noah* was the *Universal Monarch*, and *sole Proprietor* of the *New*. And, whatever *Property* or *Share*, his Sons and Descendants afterwards had, in any part thereof, they had it all from *him*, and held it by *his* Donation and Allotment: And accordingly demitted it downwards to their Posterity, by *His Assignment*, and *His Authority* alone, as the Royal Fountain of all *Honour* and *Property*; and that too, without making any *Contract* or *Terms*, with the *People*, whom they were to govern, and consequently without being any way *Limited* by them. It is not therefore so *Evident*, (as some Men would perswade us) that, “in the Nature of the thing, “*Private Property* is before the Institution of a settled *Government*, because (*as they Argue*) the great “*End* of that *Institution* is the Preservation of that “*Property!* (a) --- But this Question has been too much canvassed by the *Learned*, for me to meddle with; especially, in this Place, where it seems already to be sufficiently resolved, by the *Holy Scripture*. All therefore that I shall say to it further, is, That the *Right* (and truly) *Reverend Bishop Sanderson*, occasionally speaking of the pretended *Contract*, which the *Rebels*, in his time, pleaded for, as an Evidence, that all *Government* was originally derived from the *People*, (which, by the way, he says, “never yet was proved, nor “(he dares say) will ever be proved, while the “World

(a) *Preservat. against the Nonj. by B. Bang. p. 89.*

“ World standeth, either from *Scripture, Reason, or History,*”) expresseth himself thus, “ True it is, that a meer *Rationalist* (that is to say, an *Atheist of the last Edition*) who giveth more Faith to such *Heathen Philosophy*, as affirmeth the World to have been *ab eterno*, than to *Divine Revelation*, which assureth us it had a beginning; (and some of the *great Champions* of the Opinion we now speak of, have given us Cause enough of Suspicion that they are little better): Such a one, I say, cannot possibly Solve the Difficulty. But to us, who believe the *Scriptures*, and acknowledge a *Creation*, the Solution is easy: If we will but follow the Clue of the *sacred History*, in the four first Chapters of *Genesis*, it will fairly lead us out of these *Labyrinths* in a plain way, and without any great Trouble”. And then my *Author* states the Case of *Government* and *Property*, to the Effect before-mentioned, and concludes, upon the whole, both in *Hypothesi*, that *Adam's Government* was before *Cain's Property*, and in *Thesi*, that undoubtedly *Government* was before *Property*. And so, (says the *Bishop*) “ This supposed *Pact* or *Contract*, which maketh such a Noise in the World, proveth to be but a *Squib, Powder without Shot*, that giveth a Crack, but vanisheth into Air, and doth no Execution! (a) ”. But, to return.

Noah, living *Three Hundred and Fifty Years after the Flood* (b), his Posterity, according to *God's Blessing* (c), were during his Life, grown exceeding Numerous: Insomuch, that it was become necessary that some Branches from the old Stock should be slipt off, and transplanted into different Parts, as well for their more convenient Subsistence, as for

(a) Pref. to Archb. Usher's Power of the Prince, &c. Sect. xxv, xviii, &c. (b) Cen. ix. 28. (c) — ix. 1.

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the better Division of the *Nations*; each of them having *Authority*, to be *Ruler*, over his own *People and Nation*; and thus of them was the whole Earth overspread (a). But nevertheless, as the New World was not divided and peopled, without a *Miracle*: So neither was it done without the greatest, and most exact Order imaginable, “ either by casting “ of *Lots*, or chusing according to the Order of “ their *Birthright*, after some Survey taken, of a “ sufficient Portion of the Earth, and Portions bor-“ dered out according to the Number of their “ *Nations*, then of their *Families* ” &c. (b); God thus turning that which was imposed as a *Judg-ment* on them, to the Benefit of the World; for, at the same time, that *God Almighty* dispersed the *People*, by *confounding their Tongues at Babel* (c), he did not leave them, every one to shift for himself: But it pleased him to give to *every several Tribe*, or Branch of them, a *distinct Language*; so that it was Natural for them to settle together for the Benefit of *Conversation* and *Commerce*; and, who-ever was the *Eldest* of the *Tribes*, was, of Course, by the *Laws of God and Nature*, the *Head and Ruler* thereof. Nay, the *Lord himself*, interposing his *Authority*, appointed them their several *Bounds*, as well as their *Rulers*: For, as *Moses* tell us, *When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the Sons of Adam, He set the Bounds of the People, according to the Number of the Children of Israel* (d); so also the Son of *Syrach* assures us, *In the Divisions of the Nations of the whole Earth, He set a Ruler over every People* (e); so that from hence also 'tis plain, that *Political Government* (and that too under the *Form of Hereditary Monarchies*) was by

(a) *Gen. ix. 19.* (b) *Mede's Works, fol. 274.* (c) *Gen. xi. 8.*

(d) *Deut. xxxii. 8.* (e) *Ecclus. xvii. 17.*

by Divine Institution, as I have already observed ; tho' certain Persons would fain perswade us that *Forms of Government* are only of *Human Determination* ! For from these *Rulers* (whose Names are recorded, to the Number of *Seventy*) their respective *Kingdoms* descended in an *Hereditary Course of Succession*.

Thus were the *Nations of the Earth divided*, among the Posterity of *Noah*, every one after his Tongue, after their Families, in their Nations (a) : many of which *Nations* are known by their *Namies*, to this Day ; as may be seen, by comparing together the several *Chapters* noted in the Margin (b). And, in all these, did the several *Patriarchs*, by virtue of their *Paternity* and *Eldership*, exercise a *Regal Power*, and that too in the most full and *Absolute manner*, as will be shewn hereafter, in its proper Place.

I shall not need to examine the *Succession or Title of Nimrod*, and the other *Kings of the Nations* ; my present Inquiry being chiefly confined to the *Holy Seed of Shem*. But, in regard, that, in him, we are said to find "an Intimation of the Origin of *Kingly or Monarchical Government*" (c), I think it may be proper, after what I have already said on that Subject, to observe, that if, "at the first, *the Fathers of Nations were as Kings, and the Eldest of Families as Princes,*" as is owned by the Author (d), whom *Mr. Whiston himself quotes to his Purpose*, then, by Consequence, the *Origin of Kingly or Monarchical Government*, could not be in the Person of *Nimrod* ; nor from the *People*, but from *God only*. No doubt, he was by good Right, and just Authority, Lord, or *King* over his own Family, as the other Heads of Families were : But, in that

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(a) Gen. x. 5. (b) Gen. x. Isa. lxvi. Jer. li. Ezek. xxvii.—xxxviii. (c) Whist. Script. Polit. p. 10. (d) Ral. fol. 151.

he was not content with his own *Natural Sovereignty*, but enlarged his Dominion, by violently invading, and seizing on the Rights of other Lords of Families, whom he thereby made Subject to his Empire, it was against all *Natural Right*; and consequently can't be esteemed the *Origin of Kingly Government*, but an *Usurpation*; which our *Author* may make a *Precedent* of, whenever he may happen to have Occasion for such a one! And as to his Subsequent Observation, that "this Settlement was not made, by any *Particular Direction* from God, but by *Interest* and *Desert* and *Abilities*, and the voluntary *Submission* of the *People*, &c." (a), I see no Conclusion, to be drawn from thence, more Natural than this, That supposing a *Prince* to have *Interest* and *Desert* and *Abilities*, and the *Voluntary Submission* of the *People*, (though, by the Way, nothing of this appears in *Nimrod's Case*;) yet, if he be set up without any *particular Direction* from *God*, and against his *written Laws*, as well as the *Law of Nature*, he can be but an *Usurper* still, as *Nimrod* was. And therefore, whether he were the *youngest Son of Seth*, as *Mr. Whiston* supposes (b), or, whether he is mentioned alone (according to *St. Augustine*, and other Commentators) only as being the *most Eminent Person*, and to take *Occasion to touch his Tyranny*, I shall not dispute. All that I shall add, is a Remark of a *Learned Modern*, that "This *Nimrod* was certainly the *Belus* of the Ancients: And this Compellation, most probably, was not originally from his Birth, but was afterwards given him, because of his *Rebellion* against *Noah*, and his Alteration of the *Patriarchial Way of Government*, with the *true Old Religion*. For he was properly Ty-

" *rannus*

(a) *Whist. ibid.* (b) *Script. Pal. p. 11.*

" rannus sine Titulo, as could be made appear, on several Accounts, even to Demonstration. Whence he might be called *Bel* (or *Baal*) for his *Dominion*, and *Nimrod* for his *Rebellion*; as the Learned Dr. *Prideaux* well remarks (a) ".

However, that even among the *Nations* too, the *same Authority* was maintained, according to the *Law of Nature*, or *Common Consent* of *Mankind*, will appear from the few Hints laid together, at the Close of this part of the *Regal History*: To which I referr the Reader, whilst I proceed here, with the *Succession* of those that were within the *Pale* of the *Church*; among whom the *Paternal* or *Patriarchal* Power continued, till the *Egyptian Bondage*; where the *Exercise* of the *Patriarchial Jurisdiction* was intermitted, only because they were all in *Subjection* to a stronger Prince.

But, to be somewhat more particular. *Shem*, we find, is entitled *the Father of all the Children of Eber* (b): Whereby, the Scripture informs us, (as St. *Augustine* observes (c)) that he was reputed the *Patriarch* of all that were to *descend* from him, *Sons*, *Grandsons*, *Great Grandsons*, &c. And St. *Jerom* notes (d), that from his *Sons*, who, upon the *Dispersion*, became *Heads*, several large *Nations* proceeded: As from *Elam*, the *Elamites*, Princes of *Persia*; from *Assur*, the *Affyrians*; from *Arphaxad*, the *Chaldeans*; from *Lud*, the *Lydians*; and from *Aram* the *Syrians*; all great *Monarchies*.

In this *Genealogy*, is plainly deduced the Descent of *Abram* (e), from whom the Stream of *Scripture Succession* runs on in an opener Channel, than it did before.

(a) *Biblioth. Biblica*, where he quotes *Connect. Part I. B. 2.*
p. 100. Edit. I. (b) *Gen. x. 21.* (b) *Civit. Dei, lib. 16.*
cap. 3. Col. 417. (d) *Quast. Hebr. Col. 517.* (e) *Gen. xi. 26.*

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before. And that he was unquestionably a *Monarch by Divine-Right* appears from his being expressly called, by God himself, to possess a *Kingdom entailed upon him and his Heirs for ever* (a).

To him succeeded *Isaac* his Son and *Heir* of all that he had (b).

To him his *Eldest Son Esau* was *Heir Apparent* (c): But, as he, by his own *Act*, and that too, that the Purpose of God, according to *Election* might stand, (d), did transfer his *Birthright* to his *Younger Brother Jacob*, there is no Reason to Question the Lawfulness of the *Alienation*. Yet we do not read, that ever *Esau* paid any Personal Service, or owned any Subjection to *Jacob*: But we see, That *Jacob*, meeting him, bowed himself to the Ground seven times, calling *Esau* his *Lord*, and himself his *Servant* (e), in token of a *Natural Allegiance* by *Birth*, even after the *Sale of the Birthright*. And so we read of *Eight Kings* of the Posterity of *Esau*, (f) who reigned in *Idumea*, till they were conquered by *David* (g) (of the House of *Judah*, as had been foretold by the *Lord*) (h): And those were so far from owning any Subjection to the Posterity of *Jacob*, that they denied them a Passage through their Dominions (i).

But, be that as it will, we may learn by this Case, that *Jacob* was not possessed of the *Prerogatives of Primogeniture* merely by the *Providence of God* (as certain people affect to call it, meaning his *secret Will*, without or contrary to his *Revealed Will*) but by the *Express Revelation of God*, attended with his *Elder Brother's Grant*: And further, as this *Purpose* was manifestly *prior* to either of their Births, and consequently (as the *Apostle* argues

(a) Gen. xii. 1. — xiii. 15. (b) Gen. xv. 4. (c) xxv.
33. — xxv. 23. (d) Rom. ix. 11. (e) Gen. xxxiii. (f) Gen.
xxxvi. 31. (g) I Chron. i. 43. (h) Gen. xlvi. 8.
(i) Numb. xx. 21.

argues) before they had done any good or Evil, (a), it is plain, that God's Dealing in the Case, can't truly be said to have been preponderated by Personal Virtue, Goodness, and Desert, (b), unless we could suppose, that Jacob was personally virtuous, good, and deserving, before he was born, or that he was capable of procuring by his good Behaviour, or his Brother of forfeiting by his ill Conduct, before either of them had done any Good or Evil! Neither did it please God, that his Elder Brother (even Wicked Esau) should be actually disinherited, without his own Motion and Voluntary Act, which was truly and properly an Abdication (there being no sufficient Force put upon him, to oblige him thereto,) concurrent with the Purpose of God; so much did he favour the Claim of Birthright as a Foundation for Civil Superiority and Dominion, contrary to that Author's Observation!

As the Birthright was thus vested in Jacob by the Lord, so was it afterwards translated by the same Authority, from Reuben, his Eldest Son, to Judah, the Fourth (c); though Judah himself was an incestuous Person as well as Reuben; so that his Dominion was not founded in Grace! Neither can it be said with any Propriety, that Inward and Personal Vertues obtained for Judah, what his Elder Brother had forfeited for his Wickedness (d): unless Judah's defiling his Daughter in Law, were a Virtue and a Meritorious Act in him, by the same Law, as Ruben's defiling his Father's Concubine was an unpardonable Sin (e)! And besides, so far is this Case from being an Evidence to the Prejudice of the Primogeniture, (as our Popular Advocates

D would

(a) Rom. ix. 11. (b) Whist. Script. Polit. p. 12. 13. (c) Gen. xlvi. 8. — xxxviii. 18. (d) Whist. Script. Polit. 14. 15. (e) Gen. xxxviii. 18. — xxxv. 22.

would fain perswade us,) that this very *Forfeiture* which they urge against it, plainly implies a *Natural Right* to the *Preheminence* inherent in the *Eldest by Birth*, till such *Forfeiture*; For nothing can be *forfeited*, but by the known *Owner* and *Proprietor*. And so doubtless *Mr. Whiston* himself understood it, when he said, that *Joseph* "had a *Double Portion* allotted him by his Father, in the Division of the Land of *Canaan*, —; which indeed should have belonged to *Reuben* the *First Born*" (a). And accordingly we find, that *Reuben* is so far *favoured on Account of that his Primogeniture*, that he as the *First-born*, is still honoured by their Father, as *his Might, the Beginning of his Strength, the Excellency of Dignity, and the Excellency of Power* (b); the two *Peculiar Characters* of *Sovereignty* (as the Learned Arch-Bishop *Usher* calls them (c)); and, in regard thereof, he, and his Sons are usually first named in the *Genealogies* (d). Nor was the *Natural Hereditary Right*, by Virtue hereof, to become *deseasible* by the *People*: Since, though the *Birth-right* was indeed translated into another *Line*, yet the *Hereditary Descent* was still to be preserved; for the *Sceptre* was entailed upon *Judah*, till *Shiloh* came (e): Neither was this Alienation of the Rights of the *Next Heir*, made by his *Brethren*, much less by his *Subjects and Servants*, but by his *Father and Sovereign*: and that too by the immediate Inspiration of *God Almighty*; so that it cannot be of any Use at all to the Patrons of a *Popular Scheme*!

Here comes in, another of *Mr. Whiston's Arguments* against the *Primogeniture*, though I shall but just

(a) *Script. Pol.* p. 15. (b) *Gen. xlvi. 3.* (c) *Power of the Prince* p. 14. (d) *Exod. vi. 14.* *Numb. ii. 5, 20.* *1 Chron. v. 1.*
(e) *Gen. xlvi. 10.*

just touch upon it. He asserts, that "Joseph was preferred before the rest, on Account of his Goodness, and particularly his unspotted Chastity, by Divine Providence" (a) &c. I grant, that his Chastity was very Eminent, and that he was highly favoured by God Almighty: But cannot say, that he was by Divine Providence preferred, on that particular Account, without, in some measure, Impeaching the Divine Right of Solomon, and many other Princes, in all Ages, less famous for that Excellent Virtue.

But, to proceed. When Jacob by Divine Inspiration, preferred the Younger of Joseph's Children, before the Elder, their Father was displeased. For he was sensible, the Law and Order of Nature could not be altered by any Human Power, and he did not then perceive, that what his Father did, proceeded from the Lord: And therefore he held up his Father's Hand, to remove it from Ephraim's Head to Manasseh's Head; and Joseph said unto his Father Not so my Father! For this is the first-born, put thy Right Hand upon his Head (b); which plainly shews us the great regard that was paid to the Primogeniture in those Days, and that the Law of Nature was the same after their Delivery out of Egypt, as it was before.

Now, this Law of Nature is indeed the Eternal Law of the Creator, infused into the Heart of the Creature, at the time of the Creation: By which Law Mankind were governed Two Thousand Years, before any Laws were written; whereof the Apostle says, the Gentiles which have not the Law do, by Nature, the things contained in the Law; these, having not the Law, are a Law unto themselves. (c)

D 2

Thus

(a) Script. Polit. P. 15. (b) Gen. xlviij. 17. (c) Rom. ii. 14.

Thus, in a Word, not only *Adam*, but all the succeeding *Patriarchs*, as well before, as after the Flood, had, by this *Law of Nature*, Royal Authority over their respective Children, and exercised Kingly Power, in full and ample manner. For so we find them raising Armies; making solemn Treaties of Peace; sending Formal Embassies on Negotiations of Marriage; adjudging Offenders to Death; and granting Pardons after such Condemnation (a). And, 'tis remarkable, that in *Abraham's Treaty*, with the Sons of *Heth*, for a Burying-place for *Sarah*, they stile him *A Mighty Prince* (b), as indeed he was.

What has been here said, was well summ'd up, by an *Author*, who had formerly been justly censured, for what he had written in favour of some pretended Privileges of the People, “The Original Law
“of Nature (lays he), as all Politicians and Divines
“assert, and the Scripture manifests, at first gave
“every Father a Magistratical and Judicial Rule,
“over his Children, Progeny, Family, and made
“him a King, Prince, Lord over them, without ei-
“ther their Choice or Call: The Father, and First-
“born of the Family, being both the King, Prince,
“Lord over it, and Priest to it, from the Creation,
“till the Law was given; as is generally acknow-
“ledged by all Divines; as God himself is King
“over all the Earth, Wōfld, as Creator and Father
“thereof” (c).

Since then 'tis so evident, that all the Patriarchs had this Regal Power, what hindets, but that they should be esteemed Kings, to all Intents and Purposes? Nay, and as Absolute too, as any that have been since?

If

(a) Gen. xiv. — xxi. 31. — xxvi. 31. — xxiv. 2. —
xxxviii. 24, 26. — (b) Gen. xxiii. 6. (c) Prynne's *Plea for the
Lords*, p. 10.

If there yet remain any Doubt of it, let us hear the Lord Chief Justice Coke (that Great Oracle of the Law !) who assures us, from most Unexceptionable Authorities, " That Certain it is, that before Judicial, or Municipal Laws were made, Kings did decide Causes according to *Natural Equity*, and were not tied to any Rule or Formality of Law, but did *Jura dare* (a): That the Commandment *Honora Patrem*, doubtless doth extend it self to him that is *Pater Patriæ*" (b): That, to this *Pater Patriæ*, this *Sovereign Prince by Birth*, a true and faithful Obedience of the Subject is due, by the *Law of Nature*; And an Incident inseparable to every Subject; for, as soon as he is born he oweth, by *Birthright*, *Ligeance* and Obedience to his *Sovereign*" (c): And that, such as (he says) is without Limitation, Condition, Bounds, or Reserve; "*Ligeantia Naturalis nullis Claustris coercetur, nullis Metis refranatur, nullis Finibus premitur* (d): That this Allegiance is due to the *Natural Person* of the King (e) (wheresoever he is, whether in or out of the Kingdom): That this *Law of Nature* is part of the *Law of England* (f); where the King holdeth the Kingdom, by *Birthright* inherent, by *Descent* from the *Blood Royal*, whereupon *Succession* doth attend: And therefore, it is usually said, to the King, his *Heirs*, and *Successors*; Wherein *Heirs* is first named, and *Successors* is Attendant upon *Heirs*: And yet (he proves that) in our ancient Books, *Succession* and *Successor* are taken for *Hereditance* and *Heirs*—: But the Title is by *Descent*. (For Example) "By Queen Elizabeth's Death, the Crown and Kingdom of England Descended to

(a) Coke's Reports B. 7. Postnati. Calvin's Case, 6. Jac. I. Fol. 13. (b) Ibid. Fol. 12. (c) Ibid. Fol. 4. (d) Ibid. fol. 10. (e) Ibid. (f) Ibid. Fol. 12.

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to his Majesty (King James, though then *out of the Kingdom*): “ and he was fully and absolutely thereby
“ King, without any Essential Ceremony, or Act,
“ to be done *ex post facto*; and Coronation is but a
“ Royal Ornament, and outward Solemnization of
“ the Descent (a) : ” That such “ Allegiance, by
“ the Law of Nature, never was nor could be alte-
“ red or changed; much less taken away ” (b);
nay that this Natural Allegiance of the Subject to
his Sovereign, by Birth, “ is inherent, and inse-
“ parable, and cannot be resented ” (c).

This Quotation, from so great an *Affertor of the Subjects Privileges* (and in a Case too, which, himself tells us, was “ as elaborately, substantially, and judiciously argued, as ever was any ” (d): and which has this peculiar to it, that “ no one Opinion, in all our Books, is against this Judgment ” (e), cannot need an Apology; since it has given us so clear a Light into the *Law of Nature* (by which Mankind were originally governed), in Relation to the *Paternal and Regal Authority* of the *Patriarchs*. Especially since certain *English Subjects* have the Assurance to affirm that “ the free Choice, Consent, or Recognition of a Nation, is the proper Foundation of the Rights of Princes ” (f), &c. and That “ it appears in Scripture, that Nothing, in Ordinary Cases, but the free Choice, or Recognition of a People, gives a just Right to a Prince to govern them ” (g); and many other such like *Unscriptural* and *Unlawful* Assertions, equally tending to possess the unwary Reader, with Notions utterly inconsistent with the Fundamental Laws of any *Hereditary Monarchy*, and to justify

(a) *Ibid Fol. 10. 11.* (b) *Ibid. Fol. 13.* (c) *Ibid. Fol. 7.* (d)
Ibid. 3. Fol. (e) Ibid. Fol. 28. (f) Whist. Script. Polit. p. 8. (g)
Ibid. Dedic. p. iii.

fy the worst Fact, that the worst of Subjects were ever guilty of. Whereas the *Clergy* of our National Church in *Convocation* assembled, have censured this as a great Error, (a): Nay and even the People's own Representatives in *Parliament*, will be found upon Examination to have all along declared expressly against such *Republican Doctrines*! Particularly, in one of our latest Instances, after an unnatural *Rebellion* and *Regicide*, and the subsequent *Exclusion* and *Abjuration* of the Right Heir, the *People* in *Convention* representatively assembled, confessed and acknowledged to the World, That
 " it can no way be doubted, but that His Majesty's
 " Right and Title to his Crowns and Kingdoms is,
 " and was, every way compleated, by the Death of his
 " most Royal Father without the Ceremony or Solemnity
 " of a Proclamation, &c. And therefore, according to
 " their Duty and Allegiance, they unanimously de-
 " clared and proclaimed, That immediately upon
 " the Decease of--King Charles (the First), the Im-
 "perial Crown, &c. did, by Birthright and Lawful
 "and Undoubted Succession, descend and come to
 " King Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly and
 " lawfully Next Heir of the Blood Royal, (c) &c." ---
 And all this too, after they had kept this Next
 Heir many Years in *Exile*! And our *Church* too,
 in the *Forms of Prayer* composed on those Occasions, (and which are also part of the *Law of the Land* even at this Day) does "acknowledge in the
 " Presence of God himself, That the King was In-
 "nocent, and a *Blessed Martyr*, &c. (notwithstanding
 " all the *Popery* and *Tyranny* and *Arbitrary Power* the
 " Rebels charged him with!) That his Son was his
 " Undoubted Heir, and our then most Gracious Sovereign,
 and

(a) Overal's Convoc. Lib. I. Cap. 2. (b) Proclam. 8. May.
 1660.

" and that the Throne was his Right, even during
 " his Exile and pretended Attainer : That he was
 " not Chosen, but Restored to his own just and undoubt-
 " ed Rights ; and as such promiseth all Loyal and Du-
 " tiful Allegiance to the present King, and to his
 " Heirs after him (a) " : Nay, and is it not mani-
 fest, that every one, who has obtained the Pos-
 session of this Crown (whether by Right, as King
 Edward the Fourth, or by Usurpation, as Henry the
 Fourth, and others) has always made his Pretension
 to it, as the Next Lawful Heir, and as such pre-
 tended to ascend the Throne of his Ancestors ? How
 then is all this Hypocrisy before God, and Prevarica-
 tion with Men, to be accounted for, if after all
 this Solemnity, the Throne be denied to be Heredi-
 tary ? And what Colour is there for any one to
 say, that the Right of Princes, depends upon the
 Choice, Consent, or Recognition of the People ? So di-
 rectly contrary to all the Authorities of Scripture
 History, Law, and right Reason ! — But, to proceed.

During the Egyptian Bondage, Moses was raised up by the Lord (b), to be a Prince and Deliverer to the Israelites ; whose Government was originally Monarchical, from the time that they first became a Nation : For Moses was King in Jesurun, even when the Heads of the People, and the Tribes of Israel were gathered together : And that he was Absolute, and accountable to none for his Administration, but to God only, the sacred Records in many Instances do plainly prove. For his Divine Right, and Ab-
 solute Authority, were remarkably asserted by God himself, even against his own Brethren and Sister, for but Murmuring against him ; Wherefore were ye not

(a) See the Forms for 30 January, and 29 May. (b) Exod.
 iii. 10. (c) Deuter. xxviii. 5. (d) Numb. xii. 8.

not afraid (said the Lord to Aaron and Miriam) to speak against my Servant Moses? And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them (a).

But most exemplary was the Punishment of of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and their Adherents, for seditiously Resisting, and Rebelling against the same Authority: And that too (as a late Learned Divine observed) " upon the Common Grounds of " such thiugs, viz. *Usurpation* upon the People's " Rights, *Arbitrary Government*, and ill *Management* " of Affairs" (b). Neither were these Patriots or *Assertors* of the (Good Old) *Cause of Liberty* content with *Rebellion* against Moses, their *Lawful Prince*, but they also presumed to *Intrude*, *Usurp*, and *Intrude* upon the Sacred Office of Aaron the *High-Priest*; though 'tis certain, that " who ever " set up for being *Patrons of Liberty* should, at the " same time, set up for *Patrons of Religion*; for o- " therwise the more *Liberty* we have, the more " Danger we shall be in of being undone" (c). Upon which, Moses, as he was Commanded, by the Lord, spake unto all the Congregation of the Peo- ple, saying, *Depart, I pray you, from the Tents of these Wicked Men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their Sins* (d)! For such is the hei- nous Nature, and Contagion, of those Sins of *Rebellion* and *Schism*, that the Destruction of the *Actors* alone was not a sufficient Attonement for it: But, as every one of their *Adherents* was, in re- spect of Moses, a *Rebel*, and in respect of Aaron, a *Schismatik*, whoever joined with, or any way assisted, or countenanced them in their Sins, was there- by liable to share the *Punishment*; and the more effectually to deter us from the like Guilt, we find,

E that

(a) Numb. xii. 8, 9. (b) Stillingf. Serm. 30 January 1668. p. 11. (c) Willis, 5 Nov. 1705 p. 15. (d) Numb. xvi. 26.

that God Almighty wrought a Miracle to destroy them: For the Ground clave asunder, that was under them, and the Earth opened her Mouth, and swallowed them up, and their Houses, and all the Men that appertained unto Corah, and all their Goods: They and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the Pit, and the Earth closed upon them; and they perished from amongst the Congregation —. And there came out a Fire from the Lord, and consumed the 250 Men, that offered Incense (a). And for the better Remembrance thereof, their Censers were preserved, to be a Memorial, that no Stranger, which is not of the Seed of Aaron, come near to offer Incense before the Lord, That he be not as Corah and as his Company —; when they strove against the Lord. (b). For so they may justly be said to do, who throw off those Obligations of Allegiance which God and Nature have bound them in, and bind themselves in others of their own Inventing. Nay, when others of the People presumed, the next Day, but to Murmur against Moses and Aaron, for the Loss of their Brethren, 14700 more of them were destroyed by a Plague (c). So that “ let the Pretences be never so popular, the Persons “ never so great and famous; nay, though they “ were of the great Council of the Nation, yet we “ see God doth not abate of his Severity upon any “ of these Considerations ” (d).

Thus was the Divine Authority and Absolute Irresistible Power of Moses (not to say any more of Aaron) unquestionably proved: “ And, lest this should “ be thought an Extraordinary Case, Moses and “ Aaron being Extraordinary Persons, immediately “ appointed by God, and governed by his immediate Direction, the Apostle St. Jude alledges this

(a) Numb. xvi. 30, &c. (b) — xxvi, 9. — xvi. 40.
(c) — xv. 49. (d) Stillingfleet ubi Supr. p. 34.

" this Example against those in his Days, who
 " were turbulent (and factious, who despised Domi-
 " nions, and spake evil of Dignities, that they
 " should perish in the gainsaying of Corah, (a) which he
 " could not have done, had not this Example (as
 " the late Dr. Sherlock once well observed) exten-
 " ded to all Ordinary, as well as Extraordinary
 " Cases; had it not been a lasting Testimony of
 " God's Displeasure, against all those, who op-
 " pose themselves against the Sovereign Powers" (b).

And as Moses was the first *Lawgiver* or *Wri-
 ter of Laws*, in the World, let us see how *his Laws*,
 (or rather those of *God* pronounced by him) agreed
 with the *Law of Nature*, upon this Subject.

It happened that *Zelophehad* (one of the Princes
 of the Half Tribe of *Manasseh*) had no Sons, but
 Daughters: And these (grounding their Plea upon
 the Law of *Nature*) sued unto Moses for their Fa-
 ther's *Inheritance* (for the *Land* was divided by Inhe-
 ritance); Our Father (said they) died in the *Wilderness*,
 and he was not in the Company of them, that gathered
 themselves together against the Lord, in the Company
 of Corah, but died in his own Sin, and had no Sons;
 why should the Name of our Father be done away (c)? &c.
 Where, by the way, we may observe, that the whole
 People were made sensible, by the Dreadful Judg-
 ment of *God* upon Rebels, that Resisting *Moses*
 and *Aaron*, was a *Rebellion* against *God* himself,
 from whom they received their Authority; and
 that they, and every one that was in their Company,
 ad thereby forfeited *God's Favour*, as well as the
 right to their *Inheritance*. Therefore they plead,
 that their Father was not in the Company of Corah;
 and thereupon, *Moses* brought their Cause before the
 Lord (d).

(a) *Jude* ii. (b) *Case of Resist.* p. 7. (c) *Numb.* xxvi. 33.—

—xxiv. 18. *Numb.* xxvii. 3. (d) *Numb.* xxvii. 5.

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Upon this Occasion therefore (as a *Celebrated Modern* argues in another Case) (a) “ we have “ the justest Reason to expect to know the Thoughts “ of Almighty God concerning ” Hereditary Right. And what were they? Why, the Lord did not only adjudge that Cause in favour of these Daughters (which might upon Occasion be a strong and incontestable Authority against the Salique Law in France) but made it a Statute of Judgment (or Perpetual Law) saying, *If a Man die, and have no Son* (which, by the way, is an Admission that the Son had a Natural Right to his Father’s Inheritance) *then ye shall cause his Inheritance to pass unto his Daughter; and if he have no Daughter, then — unto his Brethren; and if he have no Brethren, then — unto his Father’s Brethren; and if his Father have no Brethren, then — unto his Kinsman that is next to him of his Family, and he shall possess it* (b).

Here we see Almighty God taking Occasion (as the last quoted Author expresses it) to confirm the *Law of Nature*, in respect of *Inheritances*. And to shew us, that it is not in our Power, to invert the Order of Nature, or (as it is in the Title of the Chapter) that the First-born is not to be disinherited upon private Affection, this other Law was added by the Lord, *If a Man have two Wives, one Beloved and another Hated, and they have born him Children — And if the First-born Son be hers that was Hated, then it shall be, when he maketh his Sons to Inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the Son of the Beloved First-born, before the Son of the Hated, which is indeed the First-born, (or, as it is in the old Margin, while the Son of the Hated liveth) : But I shall acknowledge the Son of the Hated for the First-born, by giving him a Double Portion of all that*

(a) Mr. Ben. Hoadley’s Serm. at Henr. Mar. 12. 1707. Numb. xxvii. 8.

that he hath; For (this Reason, that) he is the Beginning of his Strength; the Right of the First-born is his (a).

Now this Law (says a Learned Author) " was, " and still is, grounded, 1. On God's express Command, and so it is a Judicial Law of God: 2. On Natural Reason, and so it becomes a Positive Law of Nature, obliging all Nations, at all Times, to the Observation of it. — By this Law, (as my Author proceeds) " it is undeniably evident, " that the First-born should ever be the Heir of his Father, whether the said First-born were Good or Bad, beloved or Hated: And the Reason, which God gives for that Law is this, Scilicet, because the First-born is the Beginning of his Father's Strength; and therefore, the Right of his First-born is his; that is to say, the Right of Inheritance is his. So that this Law of Inheritance by Primogeniture is not only a Positive and Judicial Law, made by God binding the People of the Jews: But it is also a Moral Law founded on Natural Reason; and therefore is for ever obligatory, and at all times binds all Nations to observe and keep it. For, if, among the Jews, the First-born was therefore to inherit, because he was the Beginning of his Father's Strength: Then by the same Force of Reason, ought all First-born Sons, of all Men whatsoever, to inherit their Father's Substance, because they all are the Beginning of their Father's Strength; And therefore the Right of Inheritance is theirs" (c).

Agreeably to which, that Eminent Lawyer above quoted, applies all to the Kingdom of England, arguing from Aristotle, That " whatever is founded

(a) Deut. xxi. 15. &c.

(b) Deut. xxi. 17.

(c) Jenner's Prog. of Primog. p. 27.

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" upon the Law of Nature, hath the same Authority amongst all Men"; wherewith (he observes) our Lawyers agree, for this Reason, "for that God and Nature is one to all, and therefore the Law of God and Nature is one to all" (a).

This Law of Indeferable Hereditary Right, or Law of Inheritance (as he calls it) Mr. Whiston owns to be "certainly a plain and clear Law, relating to the Affairs of Private Families among the Jews: But how this belongs to the Affairs of Publick Government, or Succession of Kings, or Princes, he does not see" (b). But if he pleases to open his Eyes and observe, that this Law is given in General Terms, and compare it with the Judgment pronounced in the Case of the Daughters of Zelophethad (last mentioned) who was a Publick Person, he will find no just Ground, to distinguish in this Case, between Publick and Private Inheritances; always remembing this Maxim, that, where the Law it self does not distinguish, we have no Authority to make a Distinction. But in answer to this Objection, and to put it out of all Question, the Divine newly quoted, argues thus. "If Succession and Inheritance be established upon the First-born in Private Families, because of his Primogeniture: Then, by the same Law, the Right of Inheritance and of Succession unto the Crown is for ever settled upon the First-born of Kings. For, the First-born of Kings are the Beginning of their Royal Father's Strength: And therefore, the Right of the First-born, that is to say, the Right of Inheritance and of Succession to their Father's Throne, is theirs" (c). And a much greater than he, even our Blessed Saviour himself, in answer to Pilate's Question, Art thou a King? Answered, Thou sayest that I am a King: To this

(a) Coke. Calvin's Case Fol. 12. (b) Script. Polit. p. 12, 20. (c) Jenn. Peerog. of Primog. p. 28.

this End was I born (a), &c. thereby intimating, that his Right to his Father's Kingdom was by Birth and *Primogeniture*. But after this I must own my self to be perfectly at a Loss, to understand, what our *Scripture Politician* means by saying, that this *Law of Inheritance* never "appears to have been ordained by God, nor approved by him, but the contrary: And that we find no such Law of *Hereditary Succession*, about the State of the Civil Power, among the Jews, but many which make greatly against it" (b)!

Now, the *Double Portion* was not the only *Right of the First-born*; for, we find, as *Bishop Babington* has justly observed, "That the *Preheminence of the Birthright* was this, *Habebant Jus Sacerdotii & Regni in Familia, &c.* they were *Priests and Kings* in the Family after the Father's Death: They had a *Preheminence above the rest in the Division of the Father's Inheritance*: They succeeded the Father in *all Dignity, Principality, and Honour*: They had *Authority over their younger Brethren*, so that they *rose up at their Presence, and ministered to them*" (c) &c. And all this agreeable to the Expression of the inspired Patriarch *Isaac*, wheré speaking as to the *First-born*, he says, *Be Lord over thy Brethren, and let thy Mother's Sons bow down to thee* (d); which a *Learned Modern* calls "strictly and directly the *Jus Primogeniti*, the *Right of the First-born*" (e). And so likewise, when the same Patriarch confirmed that *Alienation of the Birthright* to *Jacob*, he says to *Esau*, then in the Person of the Younger, *I have made him thy Lord, and all his Brethren have I given to him for Servants* (f); which sufficiently manifests the *Prerogative of Primogeniture*.

In

(a) *St. Job. xviii. 37.* (b) *Script. Polit. p. 8, 16.* (c) *Babington's Works, fol. 109.* (d) *Gen. xxvii. 29.* (e) *Bibl. Bib. p. 584.*
(f) *Gen. xxvii. 37.*

32 The short HISTORY of

In the Case of the Stubborn and Rebellious Son, tho' upon the Complaint of his Parents to the Magistrates, he was to be stoned to Death by the People (a): Yet we do not find, that any of them could Exclude or Deprive him of his Birthright, or the Pre-heminence thereof; no, not even tho' he had been an Hater of Right and Righteousness; as we shall see more at large by and by.

After these, we find another Law made, for the better Preservation of Inheritances, in the Family and Name of the First-born, That if Brethren live together, and if one of them die and have no Child, the Wife of the Dead shall not marry without unto a Stranger: Her Husband's Brother (or, as it is in the Margin, his Next Kinsman) shall go in unto her, and take her to him to Wife; — And it shall be, that the First-born, which she beareth, shall succeed, in the Name of his Brother which is dead, that his Name be not put out of Israel (b) ---. Which Law is also explained by that Question of the Sadducees to our Saviour, in the Gospel (c); so that, it is plain, the first, second, third, and other Brothers married the Widow successively, one after another, according to their Priority of Birth, to keep up the Name and Honour of the First-born. Nay, and our Saviour himself has affirmed the Natural Right of Primogeniture, in his Parable of the Prodigal Son: Where, in the first Place, he speaks generally of a certain Man (to shew that it was not peculiar to the Jews, but the Common Case of all Men), and then says in the Person of the Father to the Eldest Son, — Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is Thine (d); that is, by Right of Birth, as my Eldest Son.

(a) Deut. xxi. 18. (b) Deut. xxv. 5. (c) St. Matt. xxii. 24
St. Mark xii. 19. St. Luke xx. 28. (d) St. Luke xv. 11, 31.

As to Kings, more particularly, the Lord “ fore-
“ seeing, that the Jews would in time grow weary
“ of his Government, makes Provision in their
“ Law for setting up a King” (a) : Where we may
note, that he prefers Kingly Government before any
other ; because he did not make Provision for Arist-
ocracy, or Democracy, or any other Form (which their
Law makes no Allowance for), but Monarchy only. Nor
did he suffer the People to meddle, or concern them-
selves at all in the Election ; but reserved the
Choice thereof wholly to himself, as his own Prerog-
ative, and commanded them to submit themselves
therein only to his Divine Appointment, saying,
*When thou art come unto the Land which the Lord thy
God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell there-
in, and shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as all the
Nations that are about me: Thou shalt in any wise set
him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall
choose; one from among thy Brethren shalt thou set King
over thee; thou mayst not set a Stranger over thee which
is not thy Brother (b).*

And, here we may perceive an evident Distinc-
tion made between Choosing a King, which God
reserves to himself, and setting up a King over
the People when so Chosen, which latter Power the
Children of Israel had indeed, but not the for-
mer ; it being God’s Sole Prerogative Eligere, the
People’s Duty Recognoscere. And this Distinction is
clearly expounded by the Judicious Hooker, some
of whose Words may not be improper to be here
inserted. “ Heaps of Scripture (saith he) are select-
“ ed concerning the Solemn Coronation or Inau-
“ guration of Saul, David, Solomon and others,
“ by Nobles, Ancients, and the People of the
“ Common Wealth of Israel ; As if these Solem-
F nities

(a) Sherl. Case of Resist. p. 21. (b) Deut. xvii. 14.

" nities were a kind of Deed, whereby the Right
 " of Dominion is given. Which strange, untrue, and
 " unnatural Conceits are set abroad by Seed-Men of
 " Rebellion only to animate Unquiet Spirits, and
 " to feed them with Possibilities of aspiring unto
 " the Thrones, if they can win the Hearts of
 " the People, whatsoever Hereditary Title any other
 " before them may have. I say, these Unjust and
 " Insolent Positions I would not mention, were it
 " not thereby to make the Countenance of Truth
 " more Orient. For unless we will openly pro-
 " claim Defiance unto all Law, Equity, and Reason,
 " we must (for there is no other Remedy) ac-
 " knowledge, that in Kingdoms Hereditary, Birth
 " giveth Right unto Sovereign Dominion, and the
 " Death of the Predecessor putteth the Successor
 " by Blood in Seisin: Those publick Solemnities
 " before mentioned, do either serve for an open
 " Testification of the Inheritor's Right, or belong
 " to the Form of inducing of him into Possession
 " of that thing he hath Right unto. Therefore, in
 " case it does happen; that, without Right of Blood,
 " a Man, in such wise be possessed, all these new
 " Elections, and Investings are utterly void; they
 " make him no Indefeasible Estate, the Inheritor by
 " Blood may dispossess him as an Usurper" (a).

This Distinction being well observed, will help us the better to understand the Scripture Phrase concerning the Institution of Kings. For, though we do sometimes read, that the People made such an one King, we must not apprehend, that they were the Original of Regal Power, or that the Kingdom was Elective: But only that they owned or recognized him as a King of God's making; for so were the three first of their Kings expressly set over them. But when

(a) *Eccles. Polity.* B. viii.

when that immediate Designation of their Kings from God himself was to cease, and the *Kingly Government* settled in the House of *Judah*, according to Jacob's Prophesy (a) then was the *Kingdom* to become *Hereditary*; As appears from the Conclusion of those *Provisional Precepts* for the King that should be set over them, viz. ——That he may prolong his *Days in his Kingdom*, he and his *Children*, in the midst of *Israel* (b). Agreeable to which is that *Observation* of the *Jews*, that “ it was necessary to Anoint “ the first of a Family that was advanced to a “ *Kingdom*; but it was not necessary to Anoint “ his *Children* that succeeded him ” (c).

Thus much of the *Laws of God*, pronounced, and recorded by *Moses*. And we do accordingly find, that in all the *Regular Successions*, as well among *God's People*, as among the *Nations*, the *Royal Dignity* descended by *Priority of Birth* and *Priority of Blood*, according to the *Law of Nature*: Except only in Cases, where the *Lineal Succession* was interrupted by the *express Appointment and Revelation of God himself*; for otherwise it was disowned by *God* as a Violation of his *Laws*, and no other than a *meer Usurpation*; as will be seen in the proper Places.

As to what Mr. *Whiston* affirms of the Appointment of the *seventy Elders or Magistrates*, that “ it “ was done by the free *Choice of the People, &c.* ” (d), his own Book may confute him; where he acknowledges, That it was neither done by the Authority of the *People*, nor of *Jethro*, nor of *Moses*: But “ when *Jethro* advised *Moses*, to make *Judges*, it was “ only on Supposition, that *God* should command “ him accordingly ” (e). Nay, and the very Texts

(a) Gen. xlvi. 10. (b) Deut. xvii. 20. (c) Parrick on 1 Sam. xvi. 12. (d) Script. Polit. p. 16, 17. (e) Ibid. p. 2.

too which himself has quoted in the Margin, to make good his Assertion, do indeed prove the quite contrary. For, as it was Jethro's Advice to Moses, *Thou shalt provide out of all the People able Men, &c.* and place such over them (a), &c. so we read, that it was not the People, but Moses chose and made them Heads, &c. That the Lord commanded him to make the Election, and he made it accordingly: And all that the People did, or were required to do, was to sanctify themselves against the Day that was appointed, for Moses to make the Election, as the Lord had commanded him (b). And what if " here no Right of Families, or of Primo-
geniture can be at all pretended?" (c) It was the Hereditary Succession of Inferior Magistrates ever contended for? And these 'tis plain were no other; for the Supreme Power remained still in Moses, to whom the Final Appeal lay in all great Matters (d).

But Moses being forewarned of his Death, and in his Wisdom foreseeing, that these Elders or Magistrates, though there were Seventy of them, could not be able to go thorow with the great Work, nor retain the People in due Obedience, without the support of a Supreme Governour, presented this Petition to the Lord, to set A Man over the Congregation, which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, which may lead them out, and which may bring them in, that the Congregation of the Lord, be not as Sheep which have no Shepherd (e). And thereupon the Lord appointed Joshua to succeed him: Not by any Choice or Nomination of the People, but upon the immediate Designation of the Lord himself; and by the mediate Authority of Moses;

(a) Exod. xviii. 21. (b) — vers. 25. Numb. xi. 16. Deuter. xii. 13. 15. — xvi. 18. Numb. xi. 18. (c) Whist. Script. Polit. p. 17. (d) Exod. xviii. 22. (e) Numb. xxviii. 16.

whom the Lord commanded, to lay his Hand upon him, and to give him a Charge; and to put some of his Honour upon him, that all the Congregation of the Children of Israel might be Obedient (a). And so far were the People then, from claiming it as their Right, by any Pretence of an Original Contract, to chuse their own Rulers, or to cramp their Authority with Limitations, that we find them ready to hearken unto him, and to do as the Lord commanded Moses (d). Nor did they content themselves, with promising an Absolute and Unconditional Obedience to his Commands in all things, but further declared, that they would put to Death every one that should Rebel against his Commandment, and would not hearken unto his Words, in all that he Commanded (c); and all this was soon after ratified by the Lord himself, when he magnified Joshua in the Sight of all Israel, and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the Days of his Life (d).

Neither did they presume to set up a Successor to Joshua, after his Death, though at that very time (as certain Zealous Advocates for Parliamentary Power do contend) they had their Sanhedrim (or Parliament Sitting: But finding that it did not belong to their Province to make to themselves a King, or Supreme Governour, they asked the Lord, Who should go up to Fight for them (e)? And the Lord appointed the Tribe of Judah (in which the Kingdom was to be established) to go up first against the Canaanites. But, as it does not appear, for some time, that they had any One Chief or Ruler to lead them, we may conclude, That the Lord gave his People this Taste of the Miseries naturally attending a Popular State, or Common Wealth, that they might be the sooner brought to desire, and the more able to understand their

Happi-

(a) — Verf. 18. (b) Deut. xxxiv. 9. (c) Jof. 1.
16. (d) —. iv. 14. (e) Judg. i. 1.

Happiness, under Monarchical Government, which he had, from the Beginning resolved to *bless* them with. Thus, whereas, afterwards, under their *Lawful Monarchs*, they were always superior to their Enemies, till such time, as, by their repeated Sins, they had provoked God to cast them off: Here we see the several *Tribes* fighting with different Fortune, some *Conquering* and others *Conquered*. For, after that the Lord had given rest unto Israel from all their Enemies (a), &c. They (through a Fatal Oblivion!) suffering themselves to be drawn in, first to *Tolerate*, and then to *Unite* and *Incorporate* themselves with the People of the *Nations*, the Lord left those that remained to be *Snares and Traps unto them*, and *Scourges in their Sides, and Thorns in their Eyes*, until they perished from off the Land (b) &c. That through them he might prove Israel, whether they would keep the way of the Lord, to walk therein (c), &c.

Thus we read, That no sooner were Joshua and the *Elders* Dead, who had seen all the great Works of the Lord in former Days, but the next Generation forsook the Lord God of their Fathers, and joined themselves to the *Heathens* and their *Idols* (d): Whereby having, as it were, put themselves out of the Lord's Protection, he delivered them into the *Hands of Spoilers*, that spoiled them, and exposed them to the *Mercy of Foreign Tyrants! Civil Wars!* and all the other *Mischiefs and Disorders* consequent upon *Irreligion and Anarchy* (e)! And yet they were not quite destitute of *Government* (as before is observed): For Zealous Phinehas stood before the *Ark*, as High-Priest, in those Days; and there were the *Elders of the Congregation*, to govern them

(a) *Jos. xxvii. 1.* (b) — vers. 13. (c) *Judg. ii. 22.* (d)
— *ii. 12.* (e) — *ii. 14.* — *ii.* — *iii.* —

them in the *Common Wealth* (a). Notwithstanding which, they are said, to have “ found themselves “ in a State of Nature (or Confusion) where Will and “ Power are the only Measure of their Actions: “ (and all this) because they had no King, no *Supreme Magistrate* in *Israel*” (b);— they wanted a Monarch still, (the *Breath of their Nostrils* (c) “ —*cujus Nutu, quasi anima & mente regerentur*” (d); (d) by whose Nod or Beck, as by a kind of Soul and Mind, they might be governed. For, so it is, that, after the Repetition of their Sins and Sufferings, we are usually told (as a Reason thereof) that, in those Days there was no King in Israel, but every Man did that which was Right in his own Eyes (e)! And yet even this State of *Anarchy*, there is a Person, of Assurance enough, to call “ — the Felicity of those Times (f)” — : though an inspired Prophet of the *Lord*, speaks of it as an heavy Judgment; saying, in the Person of the *Israelites*, — We have no King because we feared not the *Lord* (g).

Nevertheless, amidst all their Oppressions, no sooner did they become sensible of their *Apostacy*, and turn unto the *Lord*, but he raised up Judges, which delivered them out of the Hand of those that spoiled them (h).

Thus Othniel was raised up, by the *Lord*, to deliver them, out of the Hand of a *Foreign Tyrant* (i), who had been permitted to enslave them eight Years.

After his Death, being again without a Governor, their Relapse into Sin, provoked the *Lord*, to suffer another *Foreign Tyrant*, to enslave them eighteen

(a) *Judg. xx. 28 — xxi. 16.* (b) *B. Lichf. Serm. 30. 1717 p. 7.* (c) *Lament. iv. 20.* (d) *Luc. Flor. Lib. 4. cap. 3.* (e) *Judg. xvii. 6. — xviii. 1. — xix. 1. — xxi. 25.* (f) *Bradb. Serm. Nov. 5. 1711. p. 30.* (g) *Hof. x. 3.* (h) *Judg. ii. 16.* (i) *...iii. 8.*

eighteen Years: But, upon their Repentance, the Lord raised up Ehud, who kill'd the Tyrant in cold Blood (a). Which Act (however Extraordinary it may seem) is justified by all Writers: Not only, Because Ehud had that Express Appointment and Commission from the Lord, to deliver his People, but Because Eglon was a Foreigner and Alien, and had no Right to the Dominion over them, except (what is often misinterpreted or mistaken for Providence) the bare Permission of God; such as even the Devil himself has often had! For the Devil had full as good a Commission for his Power over Holy Job, and others (b)! — And "this is certain, that the Higher Powers which are ordained of God and as such to be obeyed, are only the Lawful Powers, not to be applied to Usurpers" (c).

When Ehud died, the People by fresh Sins, provoked the Lord to leave them under the Tyranny of another Foreigner Twenty Years: till, upon their Repentance, he was pleased to deliver the Oppressor into the Hand of a Woman, who smote him to Death (d), where he thought to have slept in Security. And for this Act she is pronounced Blessed above Women (e), tho' 'tis plain, she had no Express Commission for it, nor any Quarrel against him, o' his Master Jabin, but that of his being a Tyrant without Title; for there was Peace between him, and the House of her Husband (f).

Then Israel returned to their Sins, and were therefore given up to other Foreigners, who Tyranniz'd over them seven Years: Till Gideon was raised up by the Lord, to deliver them, upon their Repentance. And yet, tho' they cried unto the Lord, against their

(a) See the next Discourse — See also Note (a)
 (b) Judg. iii. 12. — (c) Burn. Sermon.
 Nov. 1715. p. 10. Note (d) Judg. iv. 21. — (e) — v. 24
 (f) — iv. 17. Note (g) See Note (a) See Note (a)

their Oppressors, they were so far from being ready (as they ought) to assist towards their own Deliverance, that they would have put Gideon to Death, because he had cast down the Altar of Baal, and cut down the Grove that was by it (a); and so stupid they were also afterwards in the Case of Sampson; as shall be shewn in its proper Place. However, after Gideon had delivered them from their Enemies, and put several of those Foreign Tyrants to Death, the Israelites offered to him and his Heirs the Sovereignty over them; saying, Rule thou over us, both Thou, and thy Son, and thy Son's Son also: (b) — But he utterly refused to accept thereof: Not (as Mr. Whiston supposes) "as being inconsistent with the present Theocracy" (c); for he was sensible, that Kingly Government had been promised the Israelites, as one of their greatest Blessings, (d) and provided for them by God himself, against such time as they should be settled in the Promised Land (e); but because he had no Warrant for it in the Law; nor any particular Revelation from the Lord; without one of which he knew, the People's Election or Consent could give him no Right or Title. He might, 'tis true, have pleaded Providence, and the People's Submission, (as others have done since): But he was too good a Man, so to belie God's Providence; being sensible, that such Foundations alone, are too Sandy to build a Lawful Government upon, without either a Legal Title, or else an Express and Notorious Revelation from Heaven in his favour; according to Mr. Whiston's own Confession above taken Notice of (f).

Nevertheless, after his Death, Abimelech (his Bastard Son) taking Occasion, from that Offer of
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(a) Judg. vi. 30. (b) Judg. viii. 22. (c) Script. Polit. p. 23. (d) Gen. xviii. 6, 16. — xlvi. 10. (e) Deut. xxiii. 14. (f) Page 2.

the People to his Father, by means of diverse popular Arguments drawn from that Stale Pretence of the Publick Good, Usurped the Government as King (a) : And having got the Publick Money, he therewith hired vain and light Persons (or as they are called in the Margin of the Old Translation, *Idle Fellows and Wagabonds*) which followed him (b); by the help of which Mercenary Wretches, (the most proper Subjects indeed for such a Mock-Prince !) he strengthened himself, so as to be able to suppress an Insurrection made against him (c). And having put to Death all the other Pretenders (whose prior Rights, by Birth, he was jealous of) except one who had happily escaped (d) the Usurper vainly fancied himself to be Thoroughly-settled, and thereby to have acquired a Right to the Crown, “ ruling all things according to his Lust, and (as is usual with such as come unjustly by the Power) neglecting the Ordinances and Prescript of the Law, and hating all those that in any sort were Maintainers of Equity ” (e). But when all Human Means seemed to fail, the Lord had Instruments, unthought of, to execute his Divine Vengeance against him, and his Followers; sending an Evil Spirit (f) (that is, the Spirit of Discord) between him, and those who had assisted him in his Usurpation, and, at last, beating out his Brains, by the Hands of a weak Woman, after he had acted the King three Years (g). Thus (as one of our Commentators observes) we see, that the Union among Wicked Men, founded in Sin, continueth not, but soon breaketh out, through God’s just Judgment, into most deadly Ennity ; and again, that the most wicked may prevail

(a) *Judg. ix. 2.* (b) — vers. 4. (c) — vers. 34, (d) — vers. 5. &c. (e) — *Joseph. Lib. v. Cap. 9.* (f) — *verse. 22.*
(g) *Judg. ix. 53.*

" prevail in their Wars for a time, as did *Abimelech*, for the Punishment of other Wicked; themselves receiving their just Reward e'er long, " as he also did" (a) — .

But Mr. Whiston, after his Manner, would insinuate, from *Abimelech's* courting the People to Elect him, that " that Method of *Free Election*, was " the then Solemn known way of obtaining *Secular Dominion in the World*" (b) : But he does not observe, that, in the very Offer, which the same People had newly before made to *Gideon*, they expressly acknowledge the *Natural Right of Hereditary Succession*, saying, *Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy Son, and thy Son's Son*; where they plainly intimate, that if the *Father* were once their *King*, the *Sons*, and other Descendants, would expect to succeed of Course, without any other Title, than that of their Birth. For it was the *Father* only, to whom they were personally obliged, for their *Deliverance from the Hand of Midian*. Neither is it strange, that he, who had no other Means of gratifying his unjust Ambition, than by cajoling the mutinous *Populace*, should encourage them to believe and assert more Power than they truly had, when he knew, that whatever extraordinary Use they should make thereof, it would the better answer his own End; as if he had said to them, *I, and my Followers will invest you, in your Sanhedrim, with the (pretended) Power to make a King, that I myself may be the Man!* However, were it as he supposes, I wonder what Use our *Author* could make of it, or how he can be consistent with himself, when, at the same time, he tells us, " that yet, the Exercise of this Power by the People, when done upon Foolish Motives, contrary to other Obligations, and accompanied with Blood and Violence,

(a) Dr. Mayer. (b) Script. Polit. p. 32.

" lence, may be highly *Criminal* before God, and
 " bring down severe *Judgments* from him "(a)!
 But I shall not insist upon his Inconsistencies; 'tis
 enough for me that our *Popular Advocates* can have
 little Reason to Triumph in this Case: Since,
 whatever Power the People presumed to take to
 themselves, in order to the setting up of *Abime-
 lech*, 'tis plain, it " turned both to his Ruin and
 " their Destruction"; and (I have the Authority
 of a Convocation to say) that " if any Man shall
 " affirm — that the Fact of the *Sicemites* may
 " lawfully be imitated by any *Christian People*, &c.
 " he doth greatly Err" (b).

Here I cannot omit the Parable of *Zotham*, whereby
 he endeavoured to open the Eyes of the Deluded
 People, and to alienate their Affections from the
Usurper; letting them know, " That those who
 " were Virtuous, and whom Reason and Religion
 " had taught the safe and happy Estate of Mo-
 " derate Subjection, had refused to receive as Unlaw-
 " ful, what others had no Power to give, without
 " Direction from the King of Kings; who from the
 " Beginning (as to his own Peculiar People) had ap-
 " pointed them, by whom and how to be governed.
 " This he taught them by the *Olive*, which con-
 " tented it self with its Fatness, the *Fig-Tree*
 " with its Sweetness, and the *Vine* with the
 " good Juice it had: The *Bramble*, only who was
 " most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted
 " the Sovereignty. He also foretold them, by a
 " Prophetick Spirit, what should befall them in the
 " End, and how a Fire should come out of the
 " Bramble, and consume the *Cedars of Lebanon*" (c).
 But these being Truths too plain to be told in
 such a style of writing, he durst not tell them but

(a) *Whist. Ioid.* (b) *Overal's Convoc. Book. Lib. i. Cz. 13.*

(c) *Judg. 7. &c. Sir. Wa. Raleigh. Fol. 366.*

such Times, no sooner had Jotham ended his *Parable*, but he ran away, and fled for fear of Abimelech (a).

After several Vicissitudes of *Sinning* and *Deliverance*, and *Sinning* again, it pleased the *Lord* at length to deliver his People into the *Hand* of the *Philistines* forty Years (b), But, the *Lord* having foretold, that *Sampson* was to begin to deliver *Israel* out of their *Hand*, and he beginning to act accordingly, tho' it was their *Duty*, as well as *Interest*, to embrace all Occasions, and use all *Lawful Means*, to free themselves from the *Foreign Power*, under which they groaned: Yet they basely resolved, and chose to bind and betray their Brother, into the Hands of his and their Mortal Enemies, the *Philistines*, who oppressed them, rather than contribute to their own *Deliverance*, by embracing the *Opportunity* and *Means* that *God* had put into their Hands! And all this too, upon a most false, as well as *slavish Principle*. *Knowest thou not* (say they) *that the Philistines are Rulers over us?* *What is this that thou hast done unto us* (c)? As if the bare *Possession* of the *Power*, could have given the *Philistines* a *Right* to the *Dominion* over them! Whereas, they could not but know, that, by their *Law*, no *Foreign-Power* could have any *Right* thereto: And therefore that the bare *Possession* of such *Power*, without a particular *Revelation* from *God*, clearly proved, in its favour, could be nothing but a down-right *Usurpation*; and consequently was of no manner of *Obligation* upon their *Consciences*, but to be remov'd, as soon as they possibly could do it. 'Tis true, some may say, that the *Success* which the *Philistines* had had against *Israel* was "an *Evidence* of " *God's giving them a Right of Dominion*, and an " *Care*

(a) *Judg.* ix. 21. (b) ————— *xiii. 1.* ————— 5. (c) —————
xv, 11.

46 The short HISTORY of

" Earnest of God's good Will to them ! That God's
 " Hand, and visible Marks of his Providence were
 " in it ! That it was the Lord's Doing ! " &c. For
 thus, when our *Israel* was under the Dominion of
 Modern-Philistines, and our Rightful and Lawful
 King driven by Unnatural Rebels and Regicides to
 seek his Bread in *Exile*, and even there too hunted like
 a Partridge in the Mountains (a); when *Our Inheri-*
tance was turn'd to Strangers, our Houses to Aliens!
 ---our Necks were under Persecution ! --- Servants rul-
 led over us, and there was none (in Humane View) to
 deliver us out of their Hands ! (b) &c. Then, I say, did
 those False Prophets, most audaciously blaspheme
 the Lord of Hosts; stiling their Successes against his
 Anointed. ---- "the Glorious Accomplishment of
 " their Prayers ! --- God's Sentence after solemn Ap-
 " peals ! ---- the Salvation of God ! ---- the Delive-
 " rance of our Laws, and Liberties, and With-
 " rights ! ---- (and, in short) the greatest Demon-
 " stration of Grace, that ever Heaven made, to any
 " of the Sons or Daughters of Men, next to the
 " Redemption of lost Man through Christ ". (c).
 To such an high Degree of Blasphemy do Men gra-
 dually arise, when once they prostitute their Pens
 for Gain, and let out their Tongues for Hire (d) !
 Then, with a most wicked Design, to make *Rebel-*
lion seem meritorious, were good Names put up-
 on the most damnable Actions: As *Resistance* of
Lawful Authority, was the distinguishing Note of
Election, whilst *Obedience* for *Conscience* sake, was a
 certain Mark of *Reprobation* ! to be *Peaceable* and
Loyal was an unpardonable Crime, whilst to be *Sedi-*
tious

(a) 1. Sam. xxvii. 20. (b) Lament. v. 2. —— 5.
 8. (c) See Speed's Sermon in the College of Bristol, 24 October
 1651. at the Publick Thanksgiving for the Defeat of the King
 at Worcester Fight. (d) Mica. iii. 11.

tious and Rebellious was a *Cardinal Virtue*! To fight against the King was fighting the *Lord's Battles*! Murdering Bishops was the *Destruction of Antichrist*! Pulling down Churches was *Reformation from Popery*! Plundering the Royalists was *Spoiling the Egyptians*! Sequestering Mens Estates, was doing themselves *Justice*, (they being the *Saints*, and the *Earth* was theirs, with the *Fulness thereof*!) and binding their King in *Chains*, and their Nobles in *Links of Iron*, was helping the *Lord against the Mighty*, &c. Doctrines these very suitable to such *Teachers*; which therefore I should not have taken this Notice of here, had we not seen the same adopted and propagated, by some who would be thought *Golden Candle-sticks* in the *Church of Christ*!

This Remark is however the more proper in this place, to shew the Fallacy of judging of any *Cause* from its *Success*: Since, in this very Book of *Judges*, we find a remarkable Instance to the purpose, in the two *Defeats* which the *Children of Benjamin* gave the rest of the *Tribes of Israel*; where we find, that the *Just Cause* suffered the Loss of *Forty Thousand Israelites*, and that it was not attended with *Success* till the *Third Attack*.

And indeed, the whole *Book of Judges* is nothing else but a Series of Histories to this purpose, to shew us, that *Conquest*, and *Possession*, and *Success*, alone, never gave any of the *Foreign Princes* a *Right* to the *Dominion over Israel*: But that still, in due time, *God himself provided Deliverers*, to destroy the *Usurpers*, whom he had permitted for a while, to Tyrannize over his People, for their *Sins*, and to restore them to their just *Rights* upon their *Repentance*. And is not here a plain Distinction, between the *Providence of God* and his *Permission*, that

(a) *Judg. xx.*

that whereas, in *Judgment*, he permitted their Neighbours to spoil them, in his *Mercy* he provided *Deliverers*, to rescue them out of their Hands? In a Word, “ before we can make any Comments “ on so doubtful a Text, we must first be sure, “ that the Ground-work is well laid, and that “ both the *Cause* it self, and the *Means* used to “ advance it, are good ” (a).

Tis true, among these *Judges*, there was no such thing as any *Hereditary Descent* or *Succession*, by *Birthright*: Nor was it necessary, since God, who was *himself* their King, raised up whom he thought fit, as *Vice-Reys*, *Magistrates*, and *Officers* under him, upon extraordinary Occasions; letting them, between whiles, feel the Miseries of an *Inter-regnum*, which never happens in *Hereditary Governments*. And it is further remarkable, that as God always punished their Sins by *Foreign Instruments*, so, whenever he was pleased to deliver them, it was still by the Means of some one of their own *Countrymen*, unexpectedly raised up. And, as he permitted six several *Tyrants* to oppress them, so (to shew how much he delights in *Mercy* more than *Judgment*) he provided twice as many *Judges*, in their Distress, to deliver them.

Hitherto the Government of *Israel* had been a *Theocracy*: That is, God himself was their King after a peculiar manner, and ruled them by *Viceroy*s of his own more immediate Nomination, and according to Laws of his own making; the last Appeal or *Dernier Resort* being always in Extraordinary Cases, to himself. But now the People desiring a King by *Succession*, rather than *Deputation*, we shall find them governed after another manner: Namely, by a Race of *Hereditary Monarchs*, succeeding

(a) Burn. Serm. 23. Dec. 1688. p. 14.

ing one another, according to the *Natural Law of Primogeniture*; except in two or three of the first Instances; before the *Government* was thoroughly settled; as I shall shew in due Order.

After the Death of *Eli*, *Samuel* judged *Israel* all the Days of his Life: but, when he was old, he made his Sons Judges; who walked not in his Ways, but turned aside after *Lucre*, and took *Bribes*, and perverted *Judgment* (a). Under pretence of which Grievances and Mal-administration (for “when Mens Discontents “ grow ripe, there seldom wants a plausible Oc-“ casion to vent them (b)”) the People, who are too naturally prone to *Revolutions*, and *Changes of Government*, grew weary of *Judges*, and longed for the Completion of God’s Promise, desiring a *King* to judge them like all the *Nations* (c): By which last Words, we may perceive, that in those Days all the *Nations* were govern’d by *Kings*; whereas *Common-Wealths* were never once heard of, either in the Laws of God or *Nature*, but began by *Rebellion* and *Usurpation*; yea, and further too, that when the People asked a *King* as other *Nations* had, they “meant thereby principally (as our “Convocation suppos’d) that such their *Kings* might “by *Succession* govern them, so as one being dead, “they might still have another” (d).

For that those *Kings* of the *Nations* were all *Heditary* too, not *Elective*, we may reasonably conclude, since we find, that the *Israelites* were not then grown presumptuous enough; to undertake such a *Revolution* on their own Heads, and to proceed to an *Election* of a *King* by their own Authority (in which, doubtless, they would have been as

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(a) Sam. vii. 15.—viii. 1.—3. (b) Stillingfl. Sermon. 13. Nov. 1678. p. 7. —(c) Ver. 5. —(d) Overall’s Convoc. Book L. 1. Q. xiv.

forward to imitate the *Nations*, if it had been their Practice, as in the having of one) tho' All the Elders of Israel had gather'd themselves together in Convention (a). But they, dreaming of no such Power, much less attempting to usurp it, applied themselves to *Samuel*, that by his Authority, or Interest (whom they knew to be a *Prophet* of the *Lord*, as well as their *Judge*) they might have a King set over them; saying to him, Now make us a King to judge us, &c. Yet neither would he take upon himself to do it, but was displeas'd, and prayed unto the *Lord* for his Direction (b). Here it seems most proper to obviate that common Objection which is made by certain *Republicans*, against *Kingly Government*. *Samuel* himself alone was not displeas'd with their Desire to alter his *Government*, but he tells 'em also, that their Wickedness was great in the Sight of the *Lord*, in asking a King; and the People themselves acknowledge, that they had added unto all their Sins this Evil, to ask them a King (c). But our best Interpreters agree, That their Sin was not in their desiring to have a King (for that I have shewn to have been agreeable to the Revealed Will of *God*) but in their doing it of a preposterous Desire, only that they might be like all the *Nations*, and rejecting (as much as in them lay) the *Lord* (d), by their Disaffection to that Form of *Government* which himself had appointed them, their being weary of his Immediate Election and Appointment of their Governor, and longing for a Revolution, without any Warrant or Direction for it from him at that particular Time, and without waiting for the Decease of *Samuel*, whom *God* himself had rais'd up to rule over them; and therefore *God* look'd

(a) 1 Sam. vii. 4. (b)—Ver. 6.—vii. 12, 17, 19. (c)—vi. ii 7.

(d) --9.

look'd on it, as a rejecting of him more than Samuel, since he had appointed him. However, the Lord commanded him to hearken unto them in all that they said, but withal to shew them the Manner (or Right) of Kings (a); that they might not afterwards have any Pretence to complain of their *Prerogatives*, and *Absolute Power*. Where likewise we may observe, how Absolute all the *Kings of the Nations* were; among whom there were no *Laws*, but the King's *Will and Pleasure*; “*Populus nullis legibus tenebatur, Arbitria Regum pro legibus erant.*” (b)

And what this *Manner or Right of Kings* was, we have expressed by *Samuel*, thus, “ He will take your Sons, and appoint them for himself, for his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen, and some shall run before his Chariots; and he will appoint him Captains over Thousands, and Captains over Fifties, and will set them to ear his Ground, and to reap his Harvest, and to make his Instruments of War, and Instruments of his Chariots: And he will take your Daughters to be Confettionaries, and to be Cooks, and to be Bakers: And he will take your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your Oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his Servants: And he will take the Tenth of your Seed, and of your Vineyards, and give to his Officers, and to his Servants: And he will take your Men-Servants, and your Maid-Servants, and your goodliest young Men, and your Asses, and put them to his Work: He will take the Tenth of your Sheep; and ye shall be his Servants” (c), where I must observe, by the way, that the Word *Servants* is to be understood, not as *Servants* signifies *Slaves* and *Vassals*, but

(a) — Ver. 9. (b) Justin. p. 1. (c) 1 Sam. viii. 11, 12.

“ Subjects, who owe all Duty and Service to their
 “ Prince as far as he needs them ” (a). Now, that
 this was not (as a *Celebrated Preacher* already quoted
 contends) “ such a very sad and lamentable Ac-
 “ count of the *Miseries and Unhappinesses* peculiар-
 “ ly belonging to this *Form of Government*, and
 “ consequent upon the Establishment of it, as must
 “ be a Demonstration to all, who have not the
 “ most unworthy Notions of *Almighty God*, that
 “ he could have no Original Design of appointing
 “ such a *Form of Government*, as the best, or as *his*
 “ own *Institution*, sacredly and inviolably to be
 “ kept up in any Nation, much less in all the
 “ Nations of the World ” (b). That this was
 not so (I say) as he insists, needs no other
 Proof than what is already herein before made
 of the *Divine Institution*, of this very *Form of Go-*
vernment: And that too as *the best* for *all the Na-*
tions of the World, originally designed, and promised
by God to his own Chosen People, the Israelites,
even before they had any Being, as a Nation; and
no other Form of Government ever once Instituted,
promised, or provided for them. And how *sacredly and*
inviolably to be kept up, if not sufficiently proved
 already, will plainly appear, upon Perusal of the
 Words wherewith the *Prophet* concludes this Ac-
 count of the *Right of Kings*, saying, — *Ye shall cry out*
in that Day, because of your King, which ye shall have
chosen you, and the Lord will not bear you in that Day
(c). So that, whether these be indeed “ *some of*
“ *the many sore Calamities which are too proba-*
“ *ble Consequences upon the Establishment of Ab-*
“ *solute Monarchy in any Nation, and which may*
“ *be all summed up in that one Comprehensive*
Word

(a) *Sherl. of Refl. A. 24.* (b) *R. Hoadl. Serm. at Hertf. March 22. 1707.* (c) *I Sam. viii. 18.* (d) *Hoadl. ubi. Supr.*

“ Word Slavery ” (d), (as the Preacher last quoted affects to call them : Or whether “ all these were “ *not intolerable*, but such as have been born, and are “ so still, by free Consent of the Subjects towards their Princes, and what Subjects ought with P-
“ tience to bear at their Sovereign’s Hand ” (e), as Sir Walter Raleigh observes from other Authors, upon further Examination : Whether Samuel here describes a King or a Tyrant, it is all one in this Point, for ’tis plain the People had nothing to do, but to Obey their King ; and in Case of his Tyrannizing over them (since he was their Undoubted Lawful King) they were to have no Remedy, but (such as the Primitive Christians had in those Cases) Prayers and Tears : Ye shall cry out in that Day (says Samuel), and the Lord will not hear you ; that is, you must not expect “ that God will alter the Government for you again, how much soever you may complain of it ” (b). And it seems very reasonable to believe, That God Almighty did not lay before the People that long List of the Regal Prerogatives, in order to deter them from desiring the Government of Absolute Monarchs as the Kings of all Nations were (c) (as the Celebrated Preacher newly quoted insinuates, without meaning it as a Reflection upon *Kingly Government* to be sure !) : But rather, to shew us, that when we in our *Worldly Wisdom*, and under pretence of *Publick Good*, take upon us to murmur at, and cast off such *Government and Governours* as the Lord had appointed us, instead of bettering our selves by such *Revolutions*, we may reasonably expect *Tyrants* to rule us with Rods of Iron ; as has been frequently verified in most *Nations* of the *World* !

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(a) Sir Wa. Ral. Fol. 393. (b) Case of Refst. p. 43. (c)
B. Hoadl. ubi Supr. p. 2.

Nevertheless, the *Israelites* still persisting in their Suit, *Samuel* proceeded to the providing a *King* for them; but (to take away all Colour of the People's having any Hand in it) he first dissolved their unauthorized *Convention* (a).

Now the Lord had told *Samuel* in his Ear a Day before *Saul* came ---- that he would send him a *Man*, to be *Captain* over his *People* (b): And when he did come, *Samuel* was so far from making him *King* even by his own Authority, (that tho' he was both a *Prophet* and a *Judge* of *Israel*) he did not so much as know him, any otherwise than by Faith, till the Lord said ---- *Behold the Man whom I spake to thee of; this same shall Reign over my People* (c). Accordingly *Samuel* took *Saul* apart from all the *People*: And when they were alone, anointed him in the Name of the Lord (d). And when he again called the *People* together unto the Lord (e) he did it not for their *Consent* or *Approval*, but only by the solemn Casting of the Lot (as is commonly supposed, though that does not appear in the Text) or by some other Means of revealing or declaring the Divine Designation, to let them see him whom the Lord had Chosen (f).

Here it is very remarkable, and ought for ever to Silence all the Clamour of our *Fanaticks* and *Republicans* on this Head, That in all this Transaction, we do not find the least Evidence in any of these *Conventions*, or *General Assemblies*, of the People's *Ordering* or *Resolving*, or in any Manner acting or assisting in this Affair; further than this, That after the Lord (who has the whole disposing thereof (g) had caused his Lot or other Mark of

Designation

(a) 1 Sam viii. 22. (b) ————— ix. 15. (c) ————— vers. 17
 (d) ————— x. 1. (e) ————— vers. 17. (f) ————— vers. 24.
 (g) Prou. xvi. 33.

Designation) to fall upon the *same Person*, whom he had *before Anointed*, and had directed the *People* to find him where he had hid himself, *All the People shouted, and Said, God save the King* (a)! As Doubtless they would have done, *whoever* had been the Person, since the having *A King* was what they only wanted and longed for. Nay, and the very Words of the Text, *they* (that is the *People*) *inquired of the Lord further* (b), or, as it is in the Septuagint, *inquired further of the Lord*) seem strongly to imply some more direct and immediate Application to the *Lord* in the whole Transaction: At least, I'm sure it plainly proves, that nothing was done therein without his express Direction. Besides, that *Saul* was not so Popular a Man, as to have the Common Suffrage, and to be Elected by the *Voice of the People*, appears in this, that the *Children of Belial* (who, by the way, are oftentimes the *Majority*) mocked and *despised him*, instead of promoting his Election. Neither was the *renewing* the Kingdom afterwards in *Gilgal* (c), any more than the *People's* being summoned again by *Samuel*, to pay their Duty of *Homage* and *Allegiance* to *Saul*, who was already their *King* by *Right Divine*.

And yet, for all this, certain Persons are still pleased to insist, or insinuate from this very Case (tho' nothing can be more cleat to the contrary) that "God submitted *Saul* to their (the *People's*) Elect," in giving them the Liberty to chuse the "Tribe and Person by Lot" (d); that "the *People* have an Interest in agreeing to the *Form of their Government*, or *Electing the Person* that is to Reign over them! That *Kings* ought not to be set up over any *People*, but by their own *Consent*, and at their own *Desire*, and upon such Foundations, as they themselves, Solemnly

(a) 1 Sam. x. 24. (b) ——— verse. 27. (c) 1 Sam. x. xi.
14. (d) Blackway's Serm. November. 1715. p. 19.

“ Solemnly agree to! That when a King is ~~see~~
 “ over any People, there is not any Obligation of their
 “ continuing under such a Form, any longer than
 “ the Lifetime of that King, to whom they
 “ voluntarily Subjected themselves ” (a)! &c.
 Nay, and One there is, who (notwithstanding his
 great Pretences of Loyalty at present) has the As-
 surance to affirm, that “ Saul had no more than
 “ Heaven’s Connivance ” (b)! Strange Doctrines
 these! when (not to insist upon its being cen-
 sured by a Convocation, as a great Error (c), the
 Holy Ghost himself has inspired the Scripture Historian
 expressly to assure us, that the Form of Government
 was originally appointed them by the Lord, without
 the People’s Consent, Agreement or Desire, nay, and
 even before they were a People; that this very
 King was set up over them by God himself, without
 their having the least Knowledge of him, or where
 to find him; that by the Provisional Precept above-
 mentioned, the People’s Obligation of Obedience,
 is not to determine with the Life of their King,
 but to continue to his Children after him; and
 that (as to Saul) Samuel knew no more of him than
 the rest of the People did, but assures us him-
 self, that the Lord had chosen and set him King over
 them; As hath been here before particularly pro-
 ved. Nay, Mr. Whiston has himself unwarily an-
 swered this Objection, where he quotes Scripture
 to prove, that “ during all the Life of Samuel, Saul
 “ never thought his Authority sufficiently safe
 “ and sacred, but when it was owned and suppor-
 “ ted by Samuel (d) (the Prophet of the Lord) ”: A
 plain Evidence to me, that he knew his Title and
 Authority depended entirely upon God alone, and
 not upon the People; nothing being more natural

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(a) Whist. Script. Polit. p. 26, 27. (b) Bradb. 5. Nov. 1711. p. 12.
 (c) Overal’s Course, Book L. p. C. xiii. (d) Script. Polit. p. 27.

(as Experience tells us) than for Princes to depend upon those for their Safety and Settlement, from whom they received the Sovereign Power.

And, as the Lord had given them a King, so he also gave them Laws (*a*), whereby they were to be governed by him, not to Limit the King's Prerogative, or debase the Sovereign Power, so as to make him accountable to, and deposable by, the People? For he was vested with that Absolute Power, which the Judges had also enjoyed before him, that whosoever should disobey him, and not hearken unto his Sentence or Judgment, should be put to Death (*b*); which being so agreeable to that of Samuel, where he declares the Right of the Kings, and the Duty of Subjects, as is before recited, plainly Teaches the Duty and Necessity of Unconditional Obedience (either Active or Passive) to Lawful Princes, and the Unwarrantableness of Resisting their Persons or Authority. And indeed (says one of our Eminent Historians)

"If Practice do shew the greatness of Authority,
"even the best Kings of Judah and Israel were not
"so tied by any Laws, but that they did whatso-
"ever they pleased in the greatest things, and com-
"manded some of their own Princes, and of their
"own Brethren, to be slain, without any Tryal of Law,
"being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime
"not" (*c*); but (as I may add from another Authority)
never by the Sanhedrim, or States of the Realm (*d*). All
which I would recommend to the Serious Consideration of Mr. Whiston, who seems to insinuate a Sort of a Contract between Saul and the People (*e*). A strange Sort of a Contract this! wherein the King was absolutely at his Liberty to do what he pleased, and the People had no Redress for their greatest Grievances, but to Cry unto the Lord (the only Ruler of Priuces!) by whom he

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was

(a) 1 Sam. x. 25. (b) Deut. xvii. 12. (c) Raleigh fol. 593. (d) Stillingf. ubi Supr. p. 38. (e) Script. Polit. p. 26.

was set over them, and to whom alone he was Accountable for his Administration ! tho' by this way of arguing, that Scripture Politician may perhaps prove the People guilty of breaking the Original Contract, whenever they rebel against or resist their Lawful Prince, or use any other Arms against him than Prayers and Tears, and Crying to the Lord ; which I'm perswaded is not his Aim !

But to proceed. *Saul*, not being the promised King of the House of Judah, the *Lord*, (not the People) rejected him (a) ; tho' not for Tyranny over his Subjects, but for too much Clemency to his Enemies (b). And thereupon the *Lord* sent *Samuel* to the House of *Jesse*, and gave him particular Instructions to Anoint *David* there, whom he had probided for his King (c). Not that *David* was hereby invested actually with the Kingly Power : “ But this Anointing was only a Designation of “ him to succeed *Saul* after his Death. So *David* “ always understood it ; looking upon *Saul* as the “ *Lord's* Anointed, as long as he lived ; that is, as “ the King of *Israel* (d) ”. And therefore, even after that Designation, when *Saul*, then become a Tyrant and Persecutor, was in full Pursuit of his Life, and *David* had him twice in his Power, yet he absolutely refused to hurt his Sacred Person, saying, Who can stretch forth his Hand against the *Lord's* Anointed, and be guiltless (e) ? Nay, his Heart smote him, because he had cut off *Saul's* Skirt (f) ; and he put to death the Amalekite, who had lent his Hand to slay *Saul* (g).

And yet, notwithstanding all this, many popular Writers and Preachers, take the Liberty, to insist upon the Lawfulness, and even the Necessity of Self-Defence,

(a) 1 Sam. xv. 23, 26. ————— xvi. 1. (b) xx. 9.
 (c) ————— xvi. 12. (d) Patrick in loco. (e) 1 ————— xxvi. 9.
 (f) ————— xxiv. 5. (g) 2 Sam. i. 15.

Defence, and of direct Resistance of private Subjects to their Lawful Kings in Cases of Extremity, &c. (as Mr. Whiston has observ'd and rebuk'd one of 'em for) " Perhaps, says he, there may be some Cases, " in which this Self-Defence may not be unlawful: " However, I can hardly, I confess, find this Matter clear enough in Scripture to warrant a Christian's Practice upon that foot (a)". Thus far Mr. Whiston. And indeed, tho' it would not be so strange in others, yet for those who appear in the Habits and Orders of the Church of England, to fly so openly in the Face of her known Doctrines, is very surprising. For, " blessed be God, our Church hates and condemns this Doctrine, from what Hand soever it come, and hath established the Rights and Authority of Princes, on sure and unalterable Foundations, enjoyning an entire Obedience to all the lawful Commands of Authority, and an absolute Submission to that Supreme Power God hath put in our Sovereign's Hands. This Doctrine we justly glory in. And if any that had their Baptism and Education in our Church, have turn'd Renegades from this, they proved no less Enemies to the Church her self, than to the Civil Authority: So that their Apostacy leaves no Blame on our Church, which glories in nothing more than in a well-temper'd Reformation from the later Corruptions which the dark Ages brought in, to the pure and primitive Doctrines which our Saviour and his Apostles taught, and the first Christians retained and practised for many Ages (b)". And so our Homilies (approved by the Articles of our Religion, for godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these Times) (c) do expressly deny the Lawfulness as

(a) Script. Polit. Dedic. p. iv. (b) Burnet's Serm. Decem. 6.
1674. (c) Artic. xxxv.

well as Necessity of either Resistance or self Defence against the Lawful Power: And that too grounded upon this very Case now before me; arguing that
 " Tho' Saul was of the worst sort of Princes out of
 " God's favour — and sought the Destruction
 " of David by all means possible: And though
 " David was then the very best of all Subjects —
 " highly and singular in the favour of God, —
 " as well as of the People — and by God him-
 " self appointed to reign after Saul; yet for all
 " this, he would not even save his Life by Rebelli-
 " on or any Resistance, but by Flight, and hiding
 " himself from the King's Sight " (a), &c.
 Much less did he ever " Seize upon him to
 " carry him Prisoner, to be tried by the Sanhe-
 " drim, nor is there any Foundation for any
 " such Power in the Sanhedrim, over the Per-
 " sons of their Sovereigns: It neither being con-
 " tained in the Grounds of its Institution, nor
 " any Precedent occurring in the Story of the Bible
 " which gives the least Countenance to it. Nay
 " several Passages of Scripture utterly overthrow
 " it; for, how could Solomon have said, where the
 " Word of a King is there is Power, and who may say unto him
 " what dost thou (b)? if by the Constitution of their
 " Government, the Sanhedrim might have control-
 " led him, in what he laid or did" (c)? There were
 not wanting some to insinuate unto him, that Provi-
 dence had put the King into his Power, that by
 his Destruction the Throne might be Vacant for
 himself to ascend; Behold the Day of which the Lord
 said unto thee, Behold I will deliver thine Enemy into
 thine Hand, that thou mayst do to him as it shall seem good

(a) Homily against Wilful Rebellion. (b) Eccles. viii. 4.

(c) Stillingf. ubi Supr. p. 37. (d) 1 Sam. xxiv. 4. (e)

xxvi. 8.

unto thee (a). —— God hath delivered thine Enemy into thine Hand this Day (b). But David (" thought " he might have pleaded Necessity and Providence " as much as ever any could." (c), when he was thus persecuted by Saul, and the Persecutor strangely delivered into his Hands) had nevertheless another Opinion of the Person even of a bad King, and other Notions of God and his Providence : For, looking upon it only as a Trial and Probation of him, and that nothing could be Necessary for him to do that was not Lawful in it self, The Lord forbid (said he) that I should do this thing unto my Master the Lord's Anointed.—Wickedness proceedeth from the Wicked, but mine Hand shall not be upon thee (d).

— As the Lord liveth, the Lord shall smite him, on his Day shall come to die, or he shall descend into Battle and perish ; The Lord forbid, that I should stretch forth mine Hand against the Lord's Anointed (e) : Thereby clearly intimating, that as the Lord had set Saul in the Throne, so it must be the Act of the Lord alone (and not that of Man) which was to make the Throne Vacant. Neither was Saul's having forsaken the Lord, accounted a Forfeiture of his Right of Sovereignty, but he held the Crown nevertheless to the Day of his Death.

Now, after Saul's Death, was David by the Lord's Direction, Anointed King in Hebron, where he reigned over the House of Judah, seven Years and six Months (f) : But the Israelites, for some time, adhered to Ishboseth, the next known Heir of the Family of Saul (for Mephibosheth the Son of Jonathan was not to be found (g), as of Course to succeed to the Throne, according to the Law of Nature,

(a) 1 Sam. xxiv. 4. (b) —— xxvi. 8. (c) Stillingfl. ubi Supr. p. 36. (d) —— xxiv. 6. 13. (e) xxvi. 10, 11. (f) 2 Sam. ii. 13. (g) — iv. 4.

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till, becoming sensible of the *Lord's express Designation of David*, they came together to him, and *Anointed him King over Israel* also (a).

Here, though we read, that *King David made a League with them* (which some People have mistaken for an *Original Contract*) we cannot understand it, of his Submitting to any Terms or Limitations: But, as the *Lord had said to David*, *Thou shalt feed my People Israel, and thou shalt be Ruler over my People Israel*, Therefore came all the Elders of Israel to the King to Hebron — according to the *Word of the Lord by Samuel* (b), not to *Elect* nor to *Confirm*, but only to *Recognize* his Divine Right, and to pay their *Homage* and *Allegiance* to the King, as the *Ordinance of God*; And David perceived that the *Lord (not the People) had established him King over Israel* (c). And accordingly, the *Lord saith*, *I have found David my Servant, with my holy Oil have I anointed him* (d).

After all this, with what Colour of *Scriprare Reason*, or *Good Sense*, David can be said to have been “called to the Throne by God, and the Voice of the People” (e), I own my self at a loss to understand: Since nothing can be plainer than that neither the *Lord*, nor his *Prophet*, ever once asked the *People's Voice or Consent*, nor desired their *Concurrence* thereto: Nay and further, that *David was so far from being Popular*, that even when he offered himself afterwards to fight in the *Common Cause* against Goliath, neither the *King himself*, nor his *General* knew so much as *whose Son he was* (f), till they were told by his own Mouth.

And though *David had, either through Humane Frailty, or by the Advice of Evil Counsellors,* fallen

(a) 2 Sam. v. 1, 2. (b) 2 Sam. v. + 2. 1 Chron. xi. 2.
(c) 2 Sam. v. 12. (d) Psa. lxxix. 20. (e) Dr. Chandl. at Worc.
7 Jun. 1716. p. 3.

fallen into divers grievous Sins : Yet, having washed away those Sins by a Sincere Repentance, and Resolution to make Restitution (a), so far as was in his Power, he is, in general, recorded by the Holy Ghost, to have done that which was Right in the Eyes of the Lord, and to have executed Judgment and Justice unto all his People (b); and not that, upon his falling into Sin, he had forfeited his Right of Dominion, and ought to be Deposèd ; as our Modern Fanatics, and some of the worst of Papists do pretend. Neither is there the least Appearance of Evidence, that the Sanhedrim (or States of the Nation) ever presumed, or pretended to any Right, to take any Cognizance of these things ; Nay, “ it is ridiculous to think that High Court could controul their King (c).”

However there wanted not an Enemy, even of his own Blood, to Rebel against him, and usurp his Kingdoms. For Absalom his Son, was forward to conspire against him, and by the Pretence of Redressing Imaginary Grievances and other Popular Artifices, deluded the People into Real Ones, and Stole the Hearts of the Men of Israel from their Lawful King : Oh ! (Said he) that I were made Judge in the Land, that every Man which hath any Suit or Cause, might come unto me, and I would do him Justice (d) ! By that his Treasonable Declaration cunningly insinuating, that the King regarded not to do his Subjects Justice ! How just their Complaints of Grievances were ! How many and great Defects there were in his Father’s Administration ! And how ready he would be to redress all Grievances, and careful to consult the Publick Good, if he could get the Possession of his Father’s Throne !

†

By

(a) Sam. xii. 6. (b) 1 Kin. xv. 5, 12 Sam. viii. 15. (c) Peacock on 1 Sam. viii. 18. (d) 2 Sam. xv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

By these and such like Artifices the Conspiracy became strong and General: For the People increased continually with Absalom; though many went with him in their Simplicity, and knew not any thing (a) they were to do, or at least never considered the fatal Consequence thereof.

Thus David, by the Increase of his Enemies, and Desertion of his Supposed Friends, was reduced, insomuch, that he was forced to Abdicate the Government and to escape for his Life beyond Jordan, and the good King wept as he went up, and had his Head covered, and he went bare-foot, and the People that was with him (b). Upon which Abdication or Desertion (if that may be called so which was attended with such manifest Force), Absalom came to Jerusalem, and was permitted by God, for the Sins of the Nation, to take Possession of the Vacant Throne, and of the whole Kingdom from Dan even to Bersheba (c): So that, for a time, there was no Opposition to him, in behalf of the Exiled King! Tho' to their Immortal Honour let it be remembred, that all the Priests and Levites retain'd their Natural Allegiance, and continued Loyal to the King (d). And this was perhaps the main Reason, why the Rebellions of Absalom and Sheba were of so short a Continuance; God having so guarded the Government of the Jews, by a strict Conformity and Uniformity, that without a Schism in the Church no Rebellion against the State could long continue.

But now, when Treason was in Fashion among the Multitude, and Faith but to be found among the few, Ziba also sought to betray his Loyal Master Mephibosheth (e), and Shimei presumed to cast Stones even

(a) 2 Sam. ii. 11. (b) 2 Sam. xv. 14. — 30. — xvii. 11. (c)
 — xvi. 15. — xvii. 1. (d) 2 Sam. xv. 24. (e) —
 xvi. 5. —

even at his Sovereign Lord the King, and to Curse him to his Face (a); (which, how great a Crime soever it was, “ for one Shimei that there was in Israel in David’s time, we have a Thousand in ours (b) ”): And yet ’tis remarkable, that immediately upon his Happy Restoration, that Blasphemer of the Lord and of his Anointed, was the very first who made a formal Submission to the King, and address’d him for his Favour (c); which (however undeserv’d) he readily obtained.

That Revolution (tho’ it is by the Holy Ghost condemn’d as a most Unnatural Rebellion and Treasonable Usurpation) was not without its False Prophets, who had the Impudence to impute it all to God’s Providence and the Lord’s Doing! The Lord, said Shimei, hath delivered the Kingdom into the Hand of Absalom thy Son (d). Such as he could plainly behold the Hand of God, and visible Marks of his Providence in all this! But they had not before their Eyes the Fifth Commandment; which having an express Promise of Long Life to the Obedient; consequently implies a Threatning to the Disobedient, that they who dishonour and disobey their Parents, whether Natural, Spiritual, or Political (and much more then they who rebel against them all) shall be cut short. ’Tis true, the great Revolutions of Government, are to be attributed to a particular Providence of God, who is the Judge, and putteth down one, and setteth up another (e), which holds with respect to Nations as well as particular Persons. But still this “ doth not found any Right of Dominion (as some fancied, till the Argument from Providence was returned with greater Force upon themselves): But it shews, that when God pleases to

K “ make

(a) 2 Sam. xxv. 6. (b) Heyrick’s Serm. 26 July 1685. p. 4.
(c) 2 Sam. xix. 16. (d) 2 Sam. xxi. 8. (e) Psal. lxxv. 7.

" make use of Persons or Nations, as the Scourges in
 " his Hand, to punish a People with, he gives
 " them Success above their Hopes or Expectations ;
 " but that Success gives them no Right" (a). And
 that the People's Choice or Submission was another
 of this Usurper's pretended Titles we may perceive by
 Huskay's mentioning that as one of the Reasons for
 his seeming Revolt, saying, --*Whom the Lord, and
 this People, and all the Men of Israel choose, his will
 I be, and with him will I abide* (b); which by the way,
 is the first time that we hear of that Traiterous Maxim,
Vox Populi Vox Dei, that the *Voice of the Peo-
 ple is the Voice of God!*

And yet, notwithstanding all these pretended Ti-
 tles of Abdication, Possession, Success, Providence,
 Election, Submission, and (what is still more) that
 all this happened agreeably to what the Lord had
 foretold to David, by the Prophet Nathan (c), Absa-
 lom is never once esteemed King, but his Enterprize
 is, by the Holy Ghost, termed a Conspiracy (d), e-
 ven when it was in its Height : and David, tho'
 out of Possession and in Exile, is every where ac-
 knowledg'd as the only Lawful and Rightful King ;
 And as such, afterwards was his Happy Restoration
 effected by his Repenting Subjects, who as with one
 Heart, sent this Word unto the King, *Return thou and
 all thy Servants*, and contended fiercely among them-
 selves, which of them should be the most active in
 bringing it about (e). Which manifests the Truth
 of this Proposition, " That just Authority, howe-
 ver depressed for a Season, usually recovers and
 gets up again ; and unjust Usurpation, however
 high and successful for a while, seldom holds
 out long against a Righteous Title (f)." And the
 " Reason

(a) Stillingfl. Serm. 13. Nov. 1678. p. 17. (b) 2 Sam. xvi.
 18. (c) —xii. 11. (d) xv. 12. (e) 2 Sam. xix. 14.—9,
 43. (f) Ford's Serm. 28 June 1660. p. 7.

" Reason thereof seems very convincing ; for while
 " any Man holds and claims only by *Unrighteousness*,
 " he doth not hold of *God* ; nor doth *God* look upon
 " the Thing he holds, as his, till some way of
 " Right makes it so : Whilst he holds it by *Wrong*,
 " he rates him not as the *Owner*, but *Usurper*, and
 " therefore bids him *Restore* the *Right Owner* his
 " own again ; and that is all any Man ever gets
 " with *Him* by meer *Unrighteous Possession* ; viz. no
 " *Property* therein, but only *Guilt* and *Punishment*,
 " and a *Necessity* of making *Restitution*(a) ! ? .

Here I could not but make a Stop to compare the Modesty of this *King de facto* (b), *Absalom*, with the Unwarrantable Assurance of our English Protector, *Oliver* ; where I can't find the least Footstep of any *Oath*, *Covenant* or *Engagement* to *Absalom*, much less any *Abjuration* of the Titles and Pretentions of *David*, the King *de jure*, tho' he was then in *Exile*, and thereby divested of the Exercise of his Sovereign Authority. And therefore not finding any thing of that here (in which our late English *Usurpers* so far outwent those *Jews*) I shall not presume to determine, whether in case such *Oaths*, or *Covenants*, or *Engagements* had been required in *Absalom's* Case, the People of *Israel* could with a good Conscience have taken them ; nor whether, if they had, by whatever Inducements, been prevail'd withal to take 'em, such *Oaths*, or *Covenants*, or *Engagements*, had obliged them to any thing but *Repentance* and *Restitution* ; nor whether such People had been bound in *Conscience*, upon the first Conviction of their *Illegality*, to have reversed and disclaimed them ; nor particularly, whether *Joab*, who (c) thrust three *Darts* through the Heart

K 2

of

(a) Kettlewell, Vol. 2. Fol. 213. See Beverege's Serm. of Restitution. (b) 2 Sam. xvii. 16. (c) —————xviii. 14.

of Absalom, the *Usurper*, had been guilty of *Treason*; Nor whether he could have justified himself in so doing by virtue of his *Natural Allegiance* to *David*, the *King de Jure*: These, I say, are Questions, that, not being resolved in the Case before me, I shall not presume to determine, but refer them to be discuss'd at Leisure, by the Help of the several *Eminent Authorities* here quoted (a), whilst I proceed in my History. However, with respect to that other Case, to which this is applicable, in our *English History*, I must observe, that the Representative Body of the Nation, in a Free Parliament assembled, declared those *Oaths*, *Covenants*, and *Engagements* which were imposed upon the Subjects, as well as all other the *Acts and Ordinances* made, during the late Grand *Usurpation*, to have been
 "Unlawful, and imposed against the Fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom: To
 "have had in themselves not the least Colour of
 "Law or Justice to support them; and (therefore)
 "to have been Null and Void to all Intents and
 "Purposes whatsoever" (b).

Absalom being sent to his *Place*, and the Men of *Israel* being discontented, that those of *Judah* had been more active in the *King's Restoration* than themselves, *every Man of Israel went up from after David*, and followed *Sheba*, who embraced that Occasion to *Usurp* the *Ten Tribes* himself (c). But, he soon met with his Reward, being pursued to Death by certain Loyal Subjects (d): And then all the People return'd again to their true *Allegiance*. In which Case it is observable, that tho' this *Usurper* had also all the Tribes of *Israel*, while *David* had but the

(a) See *Bp. Hall's Propositions*; *Sanderson's Cases of Oaths*; *The whole Duty of Man*; *Wake's Discourse of Swearing*; *Amesius*, and other Casuists. (b) *Stat. xiii. C. 2. C. 1.* (c) 2 *Sam. xx. 1, 2.* ————— (d) ————— 22.

the Loyal Tribe of *Judah* with him, he was never once termed a *King*, but a *Man of Belial*; which, (as a *Learned Prelate* observes) "in effect is as much as if it had been said, that he was of his *Father the Devil*" (a). —— However, here it may not be improper to observe, that "the Publick Peace being once broken, it is impossible for them that begin a Civil War, to stop where they will, or end it when they please, or even to judge what their own Resolutions will be, as the State of Things alters or advances. New Men will graft upon the Schemes and Successes of the prime Designers; and they that are once engaged, will gradually Advance to the highest Villainies, rather than quit the Game, or suffer it to be played out of their Hands" (b).

As to *Solomon*, it is granted that he was *King* by Divine Right in the strictest Sense of the Word (c). For, though he was a Younger Son of *David*, and consequently indeed could not be the next *Heir by Birth*, as himself acknowledged to his Mother, concerning *Adoniah*, saying, *Ask for him the Kingdom also; for he is mine Elder Brother* (d) (where, by the way, we may observe that *Solomon* himself, who did not use to speak improperly, affirms that by the Ordinary Right and Course of Succession, the Kingdom was to have gone according to the Natural Law of Primogeniture): But, as he was the Person, who was, expressly and by Name, promised to be Established in the Throne, by the *Lord*, even before his Birth (e); of which *David* was also put in mind afterwards by *Nathan* the Prophet of the *Lord* (f); Therefore (and for that Reason only)

it

(a) *Ush. of Obedience of Subj.* p. 125. (b) *Chandl. Serm. 7. Jun. 1716.* p. 23. (c) *J. Archer at Tunbridge, 8 Aug. 1714.* p. 27.

(d) *1 Kin. iii. 22.* (e) *2 Sam. viii. 12.* (f) *1 Chr. xxii. 9, 10.*

it was, that *Solomon* was immediately set upon the Throne, by *David's Order*, according to the Word of the Lord (a).

This is further manifested both by *David* and *Solomon* himself. For *David* instructing *Solomon* in God's Promises and his Duty, tells him, *The Word of the Lord came to me, saying A Son shall be born to thee, his Name shall be Solomon: and I will establish the Throne of his Kingdom over Israel for ever* (b). And in a Set Speech, wherein he declared both his own and *Solomon's* Divine Right, he says, *The Lord God of Israel chose me before all the House of my Father, to be King over Israel for ever—: And of all my Sons, he hath chosen Solomon, my Son, to sit upon the Throne of the Kingdom of the Lord over Israel; and he said unto me, I will establish his Kingdom for ever* (c) —. And again he saith, *Solomon my Son, whom alone God hath chosen* (d), &c. Thus *Solomon* also himself says, *The Lord hath performed his Word that he spake, and I am risen up in the room of David my Father, and sit on the Throne of Israel, as the Lord promised* (e) —. And again *Solomon* said unto God, *Thou hast shewed great Mercy unto David my Father, and hast made me to Reign in his stead* (f). In full Conviction whereof, and to put his Title out of all Doubt, *all the Princes, and the Mighty Men, and all the Sons likewise of King David, submitted themselves unto Solomon the King* (g).

'Tis true, *Adonijah* (his Eldest surviving Brother) at first made a Party to secure his Natural Right of Succession. And such was the Universal Respect to the Law of Primogeniture, that all *Israel* set their Faces on him, that he should reign (h): But he soon was convinced of his Error, and acknowledged,

(a) 1 Kin. i. 11, &c. (b) 1 Chron. xxii. 8, &c. (c) 1 Chron. xxviii. 4, 5, 6, 7. (d) ————— xxix. 1, &c. (e) 1 Kin. vii. 20. (f) 2 Chron. i. 7. (g) 1 Chron. xxiv. 24. (h) 1 Kin. ii. 15.

nowledged, that the Kingdom was his Brother Solomon's from the Lord; who alone has the Power and Prerogative to dispense with, and supersede his own Laws, and those of Nature.

Here, though the Case is plain enough in it self, yet I find it necessary to add a Remark with respect to the Insinuation of Mr. Whiston. He admits, that Adonijah was the Eldest Son then alive, but insinuates, that nevertheless, Adonijah himself "does not yet deny, that the Consent of the People was also requisite in such a Case; and that when God turned the Hearts of the People to recognize Solomon, that Recognition was a Sufficient Title to the Throne, even in Barr to that Primogeniture it self" (a). In answer to which, and to demonstrate the Fallacy thereof, it is observable, that Adonijah affirms (and appeals even to Solomon's Mother for the Truth of it) that the Right of Succession was his: Thou knowest (says he) that the Kingdom was mine —; (meaning by the Natural Right of Primogeniture): as if he had said (according to Peter Martyr) this is so Notorious and Manifest, that it is impossible you should be ignorant of it (b); For (as Adonijah proceeds) so fully sensible was every Body of that my Inherent Right, by virtue of the Laws of God and Nature (which also they knew, to be absolutely Indefeasible (c) without the manifest and apparent Interposition of God himself, and that too, not by doubtful Events, which some affect to call the Appearance of God by his Providence, but by an express and clear Revelation, for that purpose) that they, even all Israel, set their Faces on me that I should reign, as being their King's Eldest Son. But when it appeared beyond all Doubt, by such Publick

(a) Script. Polit. p. 29, 30. (b) P. Mart. in loco. (c) Deut. xxi. 15.

Publick *Revelation*, to be the Will of *God*, to alter the *Entail*, then (and not before) they acknowledged the *Kingdom* to be turned about to *Solomon*, because it was his from the *Lord*: And as *Adonijah* himself (being likewise made sensible of *God's* exercising his Peculiar *Prerogative* in that Case) readily submitted and waved his Claim to the Crown, there was, from that time, no other *Pretender* in view, and consequently no Colour, for any one to scruple the *Recognition* of *Solomon*, whom *God* himself had so unquestionably appointed and even *Named* to be their *King*, as before is demonstrated.

Nevertheless so far was that *Recognition* from being a *Sufficient* (or indeed any) *Title to the Crown*, much less a *Barr to the Primogeniture* (as that Learned *Scripture Politician* pretends) that the very Word *Recognition* necessarily supposes a *prior Right* inherent in the Person *Recognized*, and implies an *Acknowledgment* of that *prior Right*, not the giving of a *new one*: Besides, I *Appeal to the Consciences and Common Sense* of all Mankind, Whether any thing can be found more clear in the whole *Bible* than this, That the *People* looked upon it as their *indispensable Duty* to *Recognize* the *Right* of the *Eldest Son*, according to the known *Laws*: Till being made thoroughly sensible, that *God* had openly dispensed with his own *Laws* (*in that particular Case*) and declared himself in favour of *Solomon* by Name, and that, to make it the more notorious to them, *Adonijah* himself had also waived his *Pretention* to the *Crown*, the *People*, then having no room left to dispute the *Title*, readily *recognized* him whom the *Lord* had so expressly nominated, and to whom *Adonijah* himself had as expressly submitted.

Nor can I see what Colour of *Scripture* our *Author* has to insinuate, that *God* in this *Translation*, had respect

speet to Personal Virtue, Goodness, and Desert: (a); He ventures indeed, with Assurance enough, tho' without Authority, to call *Solomon* the better Son, and *Adonijah* the worse: but he will have much ado to prove that, especially at the time when God revealed his Resolution to establish *Solomon* in the Throne, unless, as he did in the Case of *Esaū and Jacob*, he will pretend to distinguish the better from the worse, before they were born, or were capable of doing either good or evil (b); which, with Submission, does not become him to judge of.

However, from this last Observation, we may see the Necessity of those Speeches which *David* and *Solomon* made in Maintenance of their Divine Right. That the People might perceive, by apparent Proofs, that the Fundamental Laws of Nature were not altered by them, without the express Revelation and Appointment of the Lord; which alone supercedes all other Legal Qualifications whatsoever. Upon which account (and no other) *Adonijah*, and all who had helped him to exalt himself against the Lord's express Ordinance, were guilty of Usurpation and Treason, and had thereby forfeited their Lives as well as Imployments, to *Solomon's* Mercy.

And as *Adonijah* himself had a Pardon only upon Condition of future good Behaviour (and therefore lost his Life afterwards, as soon as the King judged the Condition broken;) so *Abiathar* his Life was spared by King *Solomon*, for his former good Services to King *David*, but the Priesthood was taken from him and Restored to *Zadok*, that he might fulfil the Word of the Lord which he spake concerning the House of *Eli* in Shiloh (c). However, tho' *Zadok* had not been (as indeed he was) of the Elder Family; yet

(a) Script. Pol. p. 12, 13, 29. (b) Rom. ix. 11. (c) 1 Sam. ii. 35. 1 Kin. ii. 27.

doubtless it was a great Favour towards *Abiathar*, for the King to be content with accepting his forfeited *Office* only, when his *Life* was forfeited also, and that too for so notorious a Crime as that of *High-Treason*.

But before I leave this Case, I must take Notice of what Use is made thereof by certain popular *Writers*, among whom it is of late become a standing Argument for the supposed Right of the Civil Magistrates to Deprive Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Persons from their Ecclesiastical Functions, or at least the entire Exercise thereof, upon merely Civil or State Crimes. Thus an *Eminent Modern* before quoted calls it “so plain and so unexceptionable an Instance against the Adversaries of Lay-Deprivations, in this very Point of Deprivation, that he thinks their own *Answers* shew the Impossibility of getting clear of it”. And to put the better Colour upon his Argument, he makes bold with the Word of God, and affirms that “*Solomon* deprived one of the Exercise of his Function, to which he had been appointed according to the Institution of God himself, and the same *Solomon* appointed another to succeed him”. And upon this he flourishes, after his manner, and insultingly demands “What can be a more express Parallel than this, of the Supreme Civil Power depriving One Ecclesiastical Person, and putting in Another, upon the sole Consideration of the Interest of the State” (a)? Now as it is not my Business here to follow him out of my own Road, I shall not pursue him through his several Turns of Reasoning upon it, but stick close to the Facts, as I have them warranted by the *Holy Scriptures*: Wherein I find, that God had long before given to the

(a) *B. Bangor's Preserv. against the Nonjur.* p. 43. Edit. 4.

the Family of *Eleazar*, the Covenant of an ever-lasting Priesthood (a), or (as it is worded in our old Translation) the Priest's Office for ever; whereas the Power and Authority of the High-Priesthood was to be removed from the Family of *Ithamar*, and they being reduced to great Distress and Poverty, should see their Honour and Office restored to another Line (b); all which was fulfilled by *Solomon* here, when he removed *Abiathar* of the House of *Ithamar*, and restored *Zadok* of the House of *Eleazar*. So that even supposing it to have been a *Deprivation* indeed, yet *Solomon* can't truly be said to have *Deprived* one that was appointed according to the Institution of God himself, and to have appointed another by virtue of the Supreme Civil Power, as that Writer affirms!

Neither was this done (as our Author tenderly words it) upon the sole Consideration of the Interest of the State: Nor yet by a Prince whose Right to the Throne was doubtful, and disputed; but by One whose Right was allowed by all Men to have been Divine and indisputable, and that too for no less a Crime than *High-Treason*, prov'd by manifest *Quaestio-
Acts*, as before is noted.

But after all, this pretended *Deprivation* appears to have been no more than a *Banishment* from *Jerusalem*, and *Confinement* to his Fields at *Anathoth* (c), (which, by the way, belonged to him as *Priest* (d), not as his private Estate, and which therefore he had been incapable of enjoying, if he had been deprived of his *sacerdotal Character*): In Consequence whereof he was of Course incapable of *Officiating*, as before; the Functions of the *Priesthood* being confined to the *Temple at Jerusalem*, so that his Ba-

(a) Numb. xxv. 13. (b) 1 Sam. ii. 31, &c. (c) 2 Kings ii. 26. (d) Josh. xxi. 18.

nishment from thence must necessarily detain him from the *Exercise* of his Office. But still he was no less qualified for it than before, in case he had been allowed to Return to the Temple: And we find him still acknowledg'd to be a *Priest*, notwithstanding this *Sentence*, in the same Rank too as he was before, even in the time of *David* (a); that is to say, that *Abiathar* was *Chief* or *High-Priest* of the *Second Sacerdotal Order* over the *Eight Families* of the House of *Ithamar*, whereas *Zadok* was *Chief* or *Supreme Metropolitan* over the *Sixteen Families* of the House of *Eleazar*; But upon this Punishment of *Abiathar*, and his consequent Disability to execute the Office, *Zadok's Jurisdiction* was enlarged to the Extent of those *Eight Families* as well as the other sixteen, that is, over all the Sons of *Aaron* (b). With what Truth therefore this *Affertor of Lay Deprivations* can averr, that *Solomon* "by his own Authority, took away what he never gave, nay, what *Abiathar* had from *God himself*" (c); (by which he must mean his *Sacerdotal Character*, if his Meaning may ever be gathered from his Words), I leave to our Unprejudic'd Readers to judge!

I might here charge him with the Censure of a *Convocation* which has condemned it as a great *Error* (d), in any Man to affirm, "that the People had any Lawful Interest at any time -- either to chuse their *Priests*, or (they being appointed of *God*, as is aforesaid) to deprive them of their Places," &c. But because *Convocations* may seem to be of little or no Authority with him, I shall effectually shew the Absurdity of his Notions in this Case,

(a) — iv. 4. *I Chro.* xxiv. 4. (b) *Coll. Eccl. Hist. Vol. ii.*
Fol. 81. (c) *Bang. iibid. p. 45.* (d) *Overal's Convoc. Book Lib.*
ii. fa. xiii.

by confronting him with his Friend *Mr. Whiston*, and so leave them to reconcile it as they can. This Gentleman having stated the Case now before us, among those where Persons use their Authority somewhat out of their usual Sphere, concludes upon the whole, that "Here is no Civil Deprivation of an Ecclesiastical Person, or secular Entrenchment on the Ecclesiastical Authority, but a just Execution of the Divine Decree, without any such Deprivation or Entrenchment at all." (a). And in his *Dedication* to that other *Writer* (taking Occasion to speak of the Lay-Deprivation of *Arch-Bishop Sancroft* and diverse other *Bishops* of the *Churches of England* and *Ireland*, and of all those of *Scotland*, soon after the late *Revolution*) he reflects upon all such *Deprivations* thus — "Depriving *Bishops* from the Exercise of their Spiritual Power, by a meer Secular Authority, for meer Secular Offences, seems to me almost as absurd as the pretended Power of the *Bishop of Rome*, to Deprive Secular Princes of their Secular Power for Ecclesiastical Offences. And those that are sensible of the great *Usurpation* and *Wickedness* of the latter, ought never to give any Encouragement to it, by justifying the former Procedure: Especially while the *State* has many other easy and unexceptionable Ways of Punishing Seditious or Rebellious *Clergymen*, and can therefore never be under any great Temptation to do what is, in it self, so perfectly Unjustifiable, upon the Foot of *Scripture* and Christianity; I say, perfectly Unjustifiable, upon those Foundations. For, as I have shewed in this *Essay*, that the Case of *Abiathar* deprived by *Solomon*, which is the only pretended *Scripture Example*, was of another Nature, and done upon another

(a) *Script. Pol.* p. 103.

78. *The short HISTORY of*

“ another Foundation; so is the old State of Christi-
“ anity known to be fully against such a Practice;
“ insomuch that the greatest Indicators of the
“ State at the Reformation and Revolution, have
“ not, I think, been able to produce one single Au-
“ thority for it, at least, not till such late Centuries,
“ as are of no value, when unsupported by earlier
Antiquity” (a).

I need make no Apology for enlarging so much upon this Case, because it is matter of great Controversy, with respect to the Right of Kings, and the Doctrine of the *Independency of the Church upon the State*, as to its pure spiritual Powers. But to proceed in my Discourse.

After the Death of Solomon, the Original Law of Hereditary Succession, according to Proximity of Blood, came to be exactly observed in the Kingdom of Judah. For, in Obedience thereto, all Israel came to Shechem to Rehoboam to make (b), (or more properly recognize) him King, who was Solomon's Son and Undoubted Heir. But here the Ten Rebellious Tribes under Pretence of Grievances, even in Solomon's Reign, presume to Remonstrate against them, and to insist upon Terms with their Lawful King (as if Liberty and Property were things that a King only could have no Pretence to!) which he, thro' a Judicial Infatuation (for the Punishment of the Sins of Solomon, as had been foretold by the Lord (c)) answering impolitickly, gave Occasion to those Tribes to Revolt, as will be shewn hereafter. However, the Loyal Tribes of Judah and Benjamin (which because their Possessions were intermixed are sometimes reckon'd as one) continued to be Faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their King's Son.

But

(a) Whist. *ibid. Dedic.* p. x. (b) 1 Kin. xii. 1. 2 Chron. x. 1.
(c) 1 Kin. xi. 12.

But nevertheless, left their Example should be of any Use to the Advocates for Hereditary Right, Mr. Whiston (whose Byas is always turn'd the other way) insinuates, that " his Father's Favour, his Mother's Interest, and his own Behaviour, some or all, procur'd him the General Good-Will of the Two Tribes ; who went to Shechem, and there, in a Solemn Assembly made him their King " (a). Now, tho' the Drift of all this is apparently to support the Claim of popular Conventions in making Kings, yet I must take the Liberty to demand, From what other Motives than that of True Loyalty, the Two Tribes could reasonably be induced to adhere to their King's Son and Heir, when the other Ten rebelled against him ? What Scripture-Evidence to prove, that his Father's Favour, his Mother's Interest, and his own Behaviour, should not be as much regarded in Israel as Judah ? Did his Father ever express any extraordinary Favour for him ? Or had his Mother any particular Interest after his Father's Death, to prevail with the Two Tribes, but not with the Ten ? If so, we may expect to find the Chapter and Verse ! As to his own Behaviour, 'tis plain, that was so very Impolitick, as well as Unpopular, that it could not possibly procure him any Good Will : But, instead thereof, if the Two Tribes had been given to Change, like the rest, and not of truly Loyal Principles, they would most probably have voted the Throne vacant, and placed another therein, by their own pretended Authority, as the other Ten did. But they, not regarding the Rebellious Practices of the rest, nor thinking greater Numbers any Argument in Matters of Right and Duty, proceeded by themselves to Recognize the Natural Right of their Lawful King's Son (even tho' they could promise themselves

(a) Script. Polit. p. 34.

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themselves nothing from his own Declaration to them but the most *Arbitrary Tyranny*), as all the other Tribes were ready too to have done, if they had not been act'd by Principles of *Human Politicks*; rather than those of *Religion and Loyalty*; and how much the *Publck Good* was effected thereby, will be seen its proper Place.

In the mean time I shall proceed upon the *Succession* of those Kings, who reigned, according to the *Original Law of Hereditary Right and Priority of Blood*, over the *Loyal Tribes of Judah and Benjamin*; who having been a *Race of Kings* (as is confess'd) by *Divine Appointment* (*a*), we may observe, that the *Preheminence* of the *Primogeniture* is admitted to be a *Divine Right*; (for 'tis plain, none of these Kings had any other Evidence of God's *Designation*, than that of their *Birth or Hereditary Right*, tho' one of this Author's Friends sticks not to call it *Blasphemy* (*b*).

But, before I come to the Particulars, I shall take Notice here, once for all, of a piece of Criticism, fitter indeed to be expos'd than seriously answer'd. Mr. Whiston (forgetful of the *Impartiality* he pretends to in his *Title Page*) when no other False Colours can be found to cast a Blot upon that hated Doctrine of *Hereditary Right*, takes upon him to suppose, (or presume rather) that wherever we meet with the *Mother's Name*, it is an Argument, that such Successor was not the *Eldest Son*, and *Heir by Descent*; by which Fallacy alone, he has disparag'd almost the whole Line of Kings, as well in *Judah*, as in *Israel*; but with how little Justice or Reason, I leave to the Reader to judge from this one Remark, That Mr. Whiston has unfortunately split upon a Rock, at ~~his~~ ~~Glory bliss yeit told me~~ ~~now fitting India~~ ~~and Romant~~

(*a*) Bradbury's *Son of Tabeal* 1708. (*b*) Wh. Kennet 25 Sept. 1715. p. 11.

his very first launching out. For even Rehoboam himself, the first of all those in the Kingdom of Judah, has his Mother's Name recorded with him (and that too twice in one Chapter (a), which is more than we usually meet with in the rest): and yet Mr. Whiston himself owns, that he "succeeded Solomon, as it were of Course; that is, no one else seems to have stood his Competitor, he probably being the Eldest, if not the Only Son (b)." Which plainly demonstrates the Absurdity of that his own peculiar Observation! And therefore I shall take no further Notice of it.

As Solomon was succeeded by Rehoboam his Son and Heir, so was Rehoboam succeeded by Abijah (or Abijam) his Son and Heir (c). For, tho' tis true, we read, that Rehoboam had three Sons by his former Wives (d), and consequently that he was not the *Eldest* at the time that his Father made him *Chief*, to be *Ruler over his Brethren*; and tho' his Father thought also to make him King (e), (which is indeed an Evidence of a partial Favour for him) during their Lives; yet it does by no means follow, that *Abijah* was not the *Eldest Survivor* at the time of his Father's Death, and his own Succession to the Throne. On the contrary, it no where appears, that they, or any one of them was living at that time. For if there had been any *Elder* surviving, it is not to be doubted but we should have heard something of his *Pretension*; of which as there is not the least Hint upon Record, we may safely conclude, that they were all dead before their Father, and that *Abijam* was his *Heir and Lawful Successor*, by due Course of *Inheritance*. And the rather for that we have a Prece-

(a) 1 Kin. xi.v. 21, 31. 2 Chron. xii. 13. (b) Script. Polit.
p. 24. (c) 1 Kin. xi.v. 31. & Chro. xii. 16. (d) ~~xi.~~ xi. 19.
(e) — xi. 21. (f) — xi. 21. (g) — xi. 21. (h) — xi. 21.

dent for it in the same *Holy Writings*; wherein we find, that *Adonijah* had once had three *Elder Brethren* too (*a*), one of whom, for ought that appears to the contrary, might have survived his *Father*; and yet, because there is no mention of him, or his *Pretensions*, but *Adonijah* is the next who puts in his *Claim* to the *Inheritance*, 'tis therefore reasonably presum'd by all Men, that all the *Elder* were dead, tho' that is not recorded; and *Adonijah* is universally esteem'd to have been the *Eldest surviving Son* of *David*, at that Demise of the Crown. Thus it is justly argued, that since we read, that *Amnon* was murder'd, and *Absalom* slain in Battle, "we may reasonably presume, that *Daniel* or *Chileab*, as he is elsewhere called, died a Natural Death before his *Father*. For there appears no Reason, why *Adonijah* should speak as he does, (*1 Kings ii. 85.*) but his *Priority of Birth*, or, in the Modern Language, his *Hereditary Right*, as *Eldest Branch* of the Royal Family (*b*). For as, in that Case, *Adonijah* asserted his own immediate Right, before the Mother of *Solomon* (as before is at large set forth), so, in this, *Abijah* asserts his to the whole *Inheritance*, in as strong Terms as is possible, even to the Face of him who had *Usurped* the greatest Part thereof, and before all his Army (which I shall have Occasion to mention hereafter, in the Case of *Jeroboam*, and to which I shall therefore refer my Reader from this Place). And besides, there is not the least Appearance of any other *Pretender*, claiming by any prior *Right*, but *Abijah* succeeded peaceably, without any *Opposition* (as Mr. *Whiston* confesses (*c*)), which is the very Argument that prevails with him to admit *Rehoboam* to have been the

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(*a*) 2 Sam. iii. 2. (*b*) J. Archer's Serm. at Tunbridge-Wells, Aug. 8. 1714. p. 6. (*c*) Script. Polit. p. 34.

Next Heir, because, says he, no one else seems to have stood his Competitor; Which, if it be a good Argument in one Case, is surely as good in another. Nay, further, there seems to be something worth our Notice, in the very Phrase, which is objected. For it is not said, That *Rehoboam made, or resolved to make,* but it is hinted only, as an Indigested Thought of a rash Prince, that he thought (or had some Thoughts, as we say) to make him King: Nor does *Abijah's* succeeding to the Crown afterwards, prove, in the least, that he obtain'd it only in Consequence of that Thought, but, for ought that can be prov'd to the contrary, as his Right by Survivorship. Much less can we argue (as Mr. Whiston does) because his Father made him Ruler among his Brethren, in his own Lifetime, that therefore he broke through the Right of Primogeniture (a); for I know no Law, that hinders a Sovereign Prince, from constituting his own Inferior Magistrates, without Regard to Age or Family, tho' he may not indeed do so, in appointing his Successors in the Throne.

But will it not put *Abijah's* Hereditary Right out of all Dispute, if we observe, in the Royal Pedigree recorded by St. Matthew, that our Blessed Saviour's Title to the Sceptre of the Jews, is derived through *Abijah*, (as well as the rest of that Royal Line, herein set forth)? For if Christ's being the Messiah depends upon his being the Son of David and King of the Jews, (as without Question it does) then how can we make a Doubt of the Right of *Abijah* (or any of the rest in that Pedigree) without raising a strong Objection against that of our Blessed Saviour himself also?

Abijah being thus proved a Lawful King, pass we on to *Aса*, his Son and Heir, who succeeded
M 2 him;

(a) Script. Polit. p. 34.

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him (a); and who was himself succeeded by *Jehosophat* his Son and Heir (b); and *Jehosophat* by *Jehoram* his Son and Heir (whose Right of Succession to the Kingdom is particularly recorded because he was the First-born (c); and *Jehoram* by *Ahaziah* his Son and Heir (d), without the least Interruption. For, though we read, that he was then the *Youngest Son* of *Jehoram*, yet it follows, that he came not to the Crown, till the *Band of Men* that came with the *Arabians to the Camp*, had slain all the *Eldest* (e); so that he was then the *Eldest Surviving*, and consequently *Heir at Law*. Which is a manifest Judication that the *Ordinary Rule of Succession* was *Hereditary* according to *Primogeniture*.

Nevertheless here *Mr. Whiston* gives it another Wreft, in favour of the *Popular Scheme*, though, one would think, nothing can be more express to the contrary. He says, “*The Inhabitants of Jerusalem* made *Ahaziah* King, being deprived of “any other *Choice* among the Sons of *Jehoram*”. And proceeds to make this Observation from it, “*Here we see, who they were, that usually made or recognized Kings in Judah; even the People of the Land, or, in this particular Case, where there was no Choice in the Royal Family, the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Capital City alone*” (f). But, with *Mr. Whiston’s* good Leave, the giving us the Reason of the *Youngest Son’s* succeeding his Father (because all the *Elder were dead*) plainly intimates, that he could not have been capable of it, if any of the *Elder* had been left alive: And, notwithstanding what he infers from the *Inhabitants of Jerusalem making or recognizing Kings,*

(a) 1 Kin. xv. 1. 2 Chro. xiv. 1. (b) 1 Kin. xv. 24. 2 Chro. xvii. 8. (c) 1 Kin. xxii. 50. 2 Chro. xxi. 3. (d) 2 Kin. viii. 24. (e) 2 Chro. xxii. 1. (f) Script. Pol. p. 43.

Kings, all that they did, or could do, was no more, than is done, in our own *Hereditary Kingdom*, upon every Demise of the Crown, where the *Privy Counsellors*, and the *Magistrates of the City of London*, together with such others of the *Nobility, Gentry, and Inhabitants*, as are at Hand, make a Solemn Proclamation and Declaration of the *Natural Right* of the *Next Heir*; Not thereby making him King, but recognizing, that he had the *Right Inherent in him*, by the *Laws of God and Nature*, and the Fundamental Laws of the *Land*; though our *Scripture Politician* does not distinguish, between *Making* and *Recognizing* of Kings! Nay, and that very Phrase too, which Mr. *Whiston* takes his Objection from, the *People's making him King*, is honestly explained even by *Grotius* himself (who was far from being an Enemy to the just Rights of the *People*): who interprets this Action of the *People*, to be no more than barely their placing him in the Throne (as they did also afterwards in the Case of *Joash* his Son (a), which was his *Right* (*viz.* by Birth) whether the *People had given their Vote or Suffrage or not*. His own Words are — “ *In Solio locarunt* — nam “ *regnum jure ipsi debebatur, sine ulla Populi Suf-*
“ *fragii*.” (b).

Hitherto the Succession had been Regular and uninterrupted, in the Kingdom of *Judah*. But no sooner was *Ahaziah* dead, than his Mother *Athaliah* (the Daughter of the wicked *Ahab*, the Son of *Omri*, King of *Israel*) Usurped the *Hereditary Throne*, and endeavoured to make herself a *Thorough Settlement*, by destroying all the *Seed Royal* except one who was hid from her (c). And now, what was wanting to make her a *Lawful Sovereign* that can be

(a) 2 Chro. xxiii. 20. (b) Grot. in 2 Chron. xxiii. 1. (c) 2
xi. 1. 2 Chron. xxiii. 10.

be pleaded by any other Usurper? 'Tis plain, she wanted nothing but the Hereditary Right: For she had a full Possession of six Years, the Providence (as they call it) of Success, and the People's Submission, and no other Pretender in view, to interrupt her: And yet as "God loves " to shew himself, and in an eminent manner to "take part with Right and Justice against those "mighty Oppressors of the Earth, who, like an "overflowing Flood, would bear down all before "them" (a), so, in this Case, when she least dreamed of it, Joash, the Right Heir by Birth (who had been miraculously preserved indeed by Providence) was unexpectedly produced, and restored, and the Usurper justly destroyed; And then (notwithstanding their forced Submission to her during her Possession of the Power) all the People of the Land rejoiced, and the City was quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah (the Usurper) with the Sword (b)!

Here we have a clear Light, whereby to distinguish the publick Good, from all specious Pretences. For we cannot doubt, but this Usurper would (as all others usually do) blind the People's Eyes, with plausible Professions, and Declarations, how much the publick Good would be advanced by her filling the Throne, and particularly, how much it would be better for them to have a Person of Age and Experience, than a Child to be their Prince, and a Babe to rule over them (c): And yet we find, that the publick Good and Tranquillity was not truly obtained in this Case, till the pert-natural-born Heir, tho' a tender Infant, was restored to his Right, even at the Expence of the Usurper's Life, and those of her Adherents.

And

(a) Tillots. Serm. Apr. 16. 1690. p. 29. (b) 2 Kin. xi.
20. 2 Chro. xxiii. 21. (c) Isai. iii. 4.

And further, it is well worthy of Observation, that, notwithstanding Mr. Whiston affects to call every Thing a *King* or *Queen* (a) which, right or wrong, can get a Crown upon its Head: Yet the *Holy Ghost* (by whose Inspiration these sacred Books were written) never once gives *Athalia* the Title of *Queen*, though she was in *Possession*, but appropriates the Royal Titles to the *Rightful King*, tho' out of *Possession*; calling *Joash* *King* no less than five several times, even before his *Restoration* (whereby 'tis manifest, the *Holy Ghost* grounded his Title upon his *Piorimity of Blood* only). And yet, when the *Usurper* saw the *King* standing in his place in the *Temple*, she could have the *Affurance* to pervert the Meaning of Words, crying out *Treason! Treason!* (b)! (or, as it is in the *Septuagint*, *A Plot! A Plot!*) though in Truth, she her self was the greatest *Traytor*.

For, it is truly observed, by a Divine before quoted, that "after God had once settled the Succession of the Crown of *Israel*, in King *David's* Family, and particularly on King *Solomon's* Issue by *Primogeniture*, it was *High Treason* for any to put by the *Lawful Heir* and Successor, although the said *Heir* was an *Idolater*, and never so bad, as to either *Faith* or *Manners* (b). For the better Proof whereof, he quotes that Interrogation of *Elihu* to *Job*; *Shall even he that hateth Right govern?* &c. Where the Point of Interrogation is altogether *Affirmative*, and implies, that he that hateth Right, shall and ought, however, to govern, when he has a *Lawful Title* so to do; and may not be excluded or deposed under that Pretence of his want of Grace. Nay, and 'tis declared even by the *Kirk of Scotland*, and their Friends in *England*

(a) *Script. Pol.* 97. 103. (b) 2 *Kin.* xi, 14. 2 *Chro.* xxiii, 13.
(c) *Jenner ubi*, *Supr.* p. 39.

land in their Confession of Faith, “ That no Difference
“ in Religion, or even Infidelity, does take away
“ the Right of the King ” (a).

Nor is it less remarkable, that, when Command was given to kill the Usurper and her Adherents, none were slain with her, but only *Matan*, the Priest of *Baal* (b). From whence we may judge of the constant and inseparable Correspondence there is between *Usurpation* and *Faith* (or *Immoral Worship*); whereas no sooner was the *Right Heir Restored*, but the *True Religion* was also *Restored*, and *protected* by him.

Before I leave this Case, it might be proper to take particular Notice of the Conduct of *Jehoiada*, the *High-Priest*. Because from the part that he bore, in the *Deposition* of *Athaliah*, and the *Restoration* of *Joash*, some pretence has been taken (by certain Weak, or, Factious *Papists*) to favour the *Pope's* having a Power to *Depose Princes*: But with how little Reason will easily appear. For it has

been already shewn, That *Athaliah* was not a Queen but a mere Usurper; And therefore, to argue from her Case, to that of a *Lawful Prince*, is absurd and ridiculous. Besides, it is plain, that what *Jehoiada* did, was not by virtue of any Ecclesiastical Authority. For he was not only (in right of his Wife) the *Prochein Amis* (as the Lawyers call it) or *nexa of Kin*, to the Royal Infant but, by the Special Providence of God (which is most conspicuous in the Protection and Preservation of Lawful Princes) was also become the *Guardian* and *Protector* of his sacred Person (c). Nor did he do any thing, till he had first strengthened himself, by gaining to his Party such of the *Captains*, of the *Levites*,

(a) Cap, 23. (b) 2 Kin. xi. 18. 2 Chr. xxiii. 17. 2 Kin. xi. 3. 2 Chr. xxii. 11.

Levites, and the Fathers of *Israel* (a) as he thought fit, for his Assistance. Neither did he any more, than what every private Subject lawfully might and ought to do : And for this he produced a very good Warrant from the Word of God, Behold (says he) the King's Son shall reign, as the Lord hath said of the Sons of David (b), which is admitted to have been a *Divine Entail* (c). From which alone (if we had nothing else to the same purpose) we may perceive that it was the want of this *Divine Hereditary Right* which made Athaliah an *Usurper*; and not that of the *Choice of the People*; (as Mr. Whiston insinuates) (d). Nor indeed can we reasonably suppose, that she had not the *Choice of the People* (or at least some thing that often passes for their *Consent*) since she was able to maintain herself in the Throne so many Years, and the King had no Sanctuary left but the *Temple of the Lord* ; However, as that was a *Place* of the greatest Security to the *Lord's Vicegerent*, so the High Priest was the only Person qualified to have the Care of him there ; and consequently the only one who could *Restore* him to his *Longing Subjects*. In short, so far is this Case from serving the Pope's Turn, or making good his *Pretensions*, that (as some *Moderate Papists* themselves confess) " it proverth " nothing, but that it is *Lawful* for a *State* or " *Common-Wealth* to *Depose* an *Usurper* and *Re-* " *store* the true *Heir* to his *Right* ; and not that he " had any Authority to *Depose* any *Lawful Prince*, " were he otherwise never so *exorbitant in Life, Manners* " and *Belief, or cruel in his Government*" (e).

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(a) 2 Chron. xxiii. 1, 2. (b)--3. 2 Sam. viii. 12 1 Kin. ii. 4.—ix. 5. 2 Chron. vi. 16. — vii. 18. (c) Sherl. Case of Alleg. p. 35. (d) Script. Pol. p. 43. (e) Warmington's *Moderate Def. of the Oath of Alleg.* p. 13.

By this Restoration of Joash was the *Hereditary Succession* turn'd again into its right Course. And tho' it was soon after interrupted by a new *Conspiracy* of some of his *Rebellious Subjects*, who successively slew him (a), and his Son Amaziah (b): Yet, in neither Case, tho' the Father was slain, were even those *Rebels* and *Parricides* hardy enough to Justify that *Regicide*, much less to attempt the *Exclusion* of the Right Heir from his *Inheritance*; but, as Joash was regularly succeeded by Amaziah his Son and Heir, so was Amaziah by Uzziah (or Azariah) his Son and Heir, and He by Jotham his Son and Heir (c).

Here again our *Impartial Scripture Politician* (who catches at every Occasion to disparage the *Right of Proximity of Blood*) triumphs at the Expression of the People's making Azariah King, (d) &c. Here (says he) "it is very plain, that it was not any *Indefeasible Right of Primogeniture*, but the Unanimous Choice or Recognition of the People that made him King" (e). For which, nevertheless, he has no other Warrant, but the vulgar Phrase in the Translation: And that is not to be understood of the People's giving a *Right of Government* to the King; but only that they put *Him* in actual *Possession* of the Regal Power, to whom it belonged by *Right of Primogeniture* (as I have observed above) and paid their *Homage* and *Allegiance* to him accordingly.

Before I proceed, I must stop to consider the Force of their Argument, who would make Uzziah's Case a Precedent for the Pope or People's Depositing Princes. 'Tis true, he was a *Lawful King*;

(a) 2 Kin. xii. 25. — xiv. 19. (b) 2 Chro. xxiv. 25. — xii. 27. (c) 2 Kin. xxi. 21. — xiv. 21. — xv. 7. 2 Chro. xxiv. 27. — xxvi. 1. — 23. (d) 2 Kin. xiv. 24. 2 Chro. xxvi. 1. (e) Script. Polit. p. 45.

King; and the Record says, when he went into the Temple of the Lord to burn Incense — the Priests withheld him (a). But if we consider, that Uzziah's Invading and Intruding himself into the High-Priest's Office, was Death by the Law of God (b), surely we shall find Reason to think, that the Behaviour of the Priests was very Dutiful, to Expostulate with him (as they did) concerning his great Offence, in order only to prevent their Sovereign from committing a deadly Sin: For they did not presume to offer him any Violence, but left him to the Chastisement of God Almighty (whom they knew to be, as we also do every Day acknowledge him, the only Ruler of Princes); who thereupon punished his Presumption with the Plague of Leprosy. Then indeed, we read that they thrust him out: But we are told, at the same time, that himself hasted also to go out because the Lord had smitten him; which plainly shews, that there was, even then, no Violence offer'd him. Neither was he ever Deposed from his Sovereignty (as some would insinuate): But, being a Leper unto the Day of his Death, he was thereby incapable of any Business, and obliged to dwell alone (c); and therefore, Jotham his Son was over the King's House, judging the People of the Land (d), not as King, but as the King's Vicegerent only, during his Father's Life. And this, by the way, affords us a very good Remark, what is to be done, in case of a King's being a Lunatick, an Idiot, or under any other personal Incapacity to answer the Ends of Government, viz. that the Next in Blood that is Capable, ought to govern, tho' not in his own Name, but in the Name of the King, and by his Authority, as Jotham did, during his

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Father's

(a) 2 Chro. xxvi. 16. (b) Exod. xxx. 7. Numb. xxiii. 7.
 (c) Levit. xiii. 46. (d) 2 Chro. xxvi. 21.

Father's Leprosy : For 'twas after Uzziah's Death, and not before, that Jotham, his Son, reigned in his Stead (a) : And he was succeeded by Ahaz, his Son and Heir ; and he, by Hezekiah his Son and Heir ; and he, by Manasseh his Son and Heir ; and he, by Amon his Son and Heir (b) ; against whose respective Hereditary Right, even Mr. Whiston himself can make no Objection, except that extraordinary one, concerning their Mother's Name (c) (before sufficiently exposed) ; under colour whereof alone, he has ventured to disparage all or most of them, contrary to Scripture, Reason, and (for ought I can yet see) Common Sense ! But in the Case of Manasseh, I own, he makes a very pertinent and useful Observation. For indeed, " it will " here deserve our Attention, that during the " time of Manasseh's Captivity at Babylon, the " Nation did not (*vote the Throne Vacant*) and) " set up another King : But owned him for their " King all the while, notwithstanding such his " Absence and Imprisonment ; and when he was " brought again to Jerusalem, he thereby was brought " again (d) (that is Restored), to his Kingdom also, " without any new Difficulty " (e). To which I shall take leave to add another to the same purpose : And that is, That after Nebuchadnezzar's having been in a State of Madness (or, as it is called in the Scripture, driven to dwell with the Beasts of the Field) for seven Years ; no sooner did his Reason return to him, but his Lords and his Counsellors sought unto him, and he was Established in (that is Restored to) his Kingdom (f) ; the Line of Succession

(a) 2 Chro. xxvi. 23. (b) 2 Kin xv. 38. — xxvi. 20.
— xx. 21. — xxi. 18. 2 Chro. xxvii. 9. — xxviii. 27. —
xxxi. 33. — xxxiii. 20. (c) Script. Pol. p. 20. (d) Ibid. p.
46. (e) 2 Chro. xxxiii. 13. (f) Dan. iv. 36.

sion having not been broke, nor the People discharged from their Allegiance on that Account. And it is farther remarkable, that *the Lord*, in whose *Hand the Hearts of Kings are*, and who *turneth them whithersoever he will* (*a*), was pleased to change both these *Princes*, from wicked and Cruel ones, to become truly Penitent.

But I must also observe, that these two Cases do flatly contradict another Remark of our *Scripture Politician*, where, speaking of the Duty of Subjects to their *Lawful Kings*, he accounts them bound to bear patiently the *Hardships they endure, till it please God, by their Death or otherwise, to deliver them*. “I say, by *Death or otherwise* (says he): for we “may observe, that any *other Method of Providence* which removes such a *Tyrant or Oppressor* “from the Government over us, does also deliver us “from our Obligation to Obedience to him; there “being in all the Bible, I think, no Obedience “ever required to any other Prince or Power, “than that which actually has Dominion over “Men” (*b*). Now I would ask *Mr. Whiston*, whether he does not look upon *Manasseh* and *Nebuchadnezzar* to have been *otherwise removed by Providence from the Government over their respective Subjects*, before they were finally *removed by Death*? And, if so, whether, during such *other Removal*, their Subjects were *delivered from their Obligation of Obedience to them*? And whether, upon such supposed *Deliverance*, any other Object of *Allegiance*, was applied unto, and placed in the *Vacant Throne*? But since nothing of this can be pretended (nay himself has observed the contrary, as above) I shall proceed to *Amon the Son of Manasseh*, whom certain of his *Rebellious Servants* conspired against and slew; yet, neither, in this Case, was the *Right*

of

(*a*) *Prov. xxi. 1.* (*b*) *Script. Pol. p. 58.*

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of Succession, by Proximity of Blood, defeated: But the People of the Land (well sensible both of the Heinousness of that Treason and Regicide, and of their indispensable Duty in such a Case) slew all them that had conspired against King Amon; And the People of the Land made (or rather Recognized) Josiah his Son King in his stead (c). And he, being then but a Child (f), his Case affords us this useful Observation, that the People, even in those Troublesome Times, never thought of breaking through the Law of God and Nature, under any Pretence of the Publick Good, but readily admitted the next Natural Heir (tho' a tender Infant), and moreover the Son of a wicked and Idolatrous Father, to his Father's Hereditary Throne, according to their Natural Allegiance. For which their Loyalty, they were sufficiently rewarded, by God Almighty, who made that Infant such a Blessing to his People, that like unto him was there no King before him, that turned to the Lord, with all his Heart, and with all his Soul, and with all his Might, according to all the Law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like him (c); and his Reign was prolonged, for the Publick Good indeed, to Thirty and One Years (d). So that these Loyal Jews preserved their Loyalty and Allegiance for the Publick Good; whereas they who renounce their Natural Allegiance, under Colour of the Publick Good, very often find themselves disappointed, and instead thereof are the Cause of their Country's Ruin!

One Instance whereof (tho' every Reader may easily recollect others) follows immediately upon the Death of this Good Josiah. For the People of the Land took Jehoahaz, the Son of Josiah, and anointed him,

(a) Kin. xxi. 24. 2 Chro. xxxiii. 25. (b) 2 Kin. xxii. 1. 2
Chro. xxxiv. 1. (c) 2 Kin. xxii. 25. (d) 2 Kin. xxii. 1. 2
Chro. xxxiv. 1.

him, and made him King in his Father's stead (a): by the Comparison of whose Age, with that of his Brother Eliakim (b), we shall find Eliakim to have been “the Elder Brother to Jehoahaz, and consequently the Right Heir to the Crown: But he being injuriously refused, the Younger was set up; and it succeeded accordingly (c).” However this is the less strange, if we consider either the Natural Result of Popular Conventions (which generally begin in Irregularity, and end in Confusion), or the Condition of their Affairs at that time. For, as, in Josiah's Days) there were great Wars betwixt the Kings of Egypt and Assyria (the two constant Enemies, and Rival-Neighbours of the Jews) so, being in fast Friendship with the Latter, he was of course liable to be evil-treated by the Former. And of this he was so sensible, That no sooner did the Egyptian draw his Sword against the Assyrian, than Josiah made Head against him; in which Quarrel he was slain (d). After whose Death (the Assyrian being still their Ally) they, for the Publick Good (as probably, in those Circumstances, it might appear to them) venturing to break through all Laws and Rights, in a Case of Necessity, and forgetting the old Maxim, *Nihil Utile, nisi quod sit Honestum*, preferr'd the Younger Brother (who was of their Faction, and so the more fit for their Turn) before the Elder. But, alas! such were the Miseries, instead of Benefits, ensuing upon that Fatal Revolution, That, that very Breach in the Constitution, not only administred sufficient Cause of Dissentions among themselves, but also gave the Assyrian a good Handle for a fresh Invasion; which he taking hold of,

Deposed

(a) 2 Kin. xxiii. 30. 2 Chro. xxxvi. 1: (b) 2 Kin. xxiii. 31, 36. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 2, 5. (c) Mayer in loco. (d) 2 Kin. xxiii. 29. 2 Chr. xxxv. 29.

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Depos'd the Usurper, and Restored the Right Heir to his Father's Throne. Where it is observable, That, as often, as the People went about to secure themselves by subtle Devices and Contrivances of their own, in Breach of the Laws of *God* and *Nature*, “ so often they were foiled and baffled, and overcome by their Enemies: But when they put their Trust in *God*, and committed themselves to his Protection, he preserv'd and deliver'd them from the greatest Dangers (a).” Thus here we read, *That Pharaoh Nechoh made Eliakim, the Son of Josiah, King, in the room of Josiah his Father* (b): which is the more remarkable (in Favour of the *Primogeniture*) because, tho' *Jeboahaz* had been some time in *Possession* of the Throne, yet, neither is there the least Record of any of his *Acts*, nor even so much as the bare mention of him as *King*; but his pretended *Reign* stands as it were, in a *Parenthesis*, and his *Elder Brother*, the *King de Jure*, is recorded *King* immediately from their *Father's Death*.

Thus was the *Heditary Succession* regularly maintained in the Kingdom of *Judah*, according to the *Divine Right of Primogeniture*: till *Nebuchadnezzar*, coming up, put the Kingdom under a *Tribute*, and afterwards, returning, carried all together into *Captivity to Babylon* (c).

'Tis true indeed, it pleased God to restore these two Loyal Tribes to their own Country again; but still, as they were even then under a kind of Vassalage to the Neighbouring Potentates, and therefore not capable of enjoying the Rights of a Free and Independant Government, I shall take no further Notice of them.

Nor

(a) *Stillingf. Serm. Nov. 13. 1678. p. 30.* (b) *2 Kin. xxiii*
34.

Nor will it seem strange, that the Succession in the Kingdom of *Israel* was not as regular too, as that of *Judah*, to any, who will but observe the Foundation of that Government.

'Tis true, there is a *Colour* of a *Divine Right* in the Establishment thereof. For we read, That, when the *Lord* was angry with Solomon, he said unto him, *I will surely rend the Kingdom from thee, and will give it to thy Servant* (a): And again, to *Jeroboam* himself, by the Mouth of the Prophet *Abijah*, Behold, *I will rend the Kingdom out of the Hand of Solomon, and will give Ten Tribes to thee; — and I will take thee, and thou shalt reign according to all that thy Soul desireth, and shalt be King over Israel* (b). Yet, nevertheless, it is to be observ'd, that all this is no more than a *Prophetical Declaration* of what *God* would suffer to befall the House of *Solomon* for their Sins. For we find no *Anointing*, nor any other Evidence or Token of a *Divine Commission* ever given to *Jeroboam*, as had been given before to *Saul* and *David*: But the *People* sent and called him out of *Egypt*; and when they had got such a popular *Man* at their Head, they had the Insolence to offer *Terms* of a *Conditional Obedience* to their *Natural Sovereign*, or to make a *Claim of Right*, as one presumes to call it (c). And here indeed we see the *Hand of God*, That he caused *Rehoboam*, to prefer the pernicious Advice of his *Young Men*, to the sage Counsel of his Father's grave Counsellors; For (thus far) the *Cause was from the Lord* (d), who, infatuating *Rehoboam*, made him contribute to his own Chastisment. And besides, that *Promise of the Lord* (if such it may be esteemed) to *Jeroboam*, was but *Conditional*—if thou wilt hearken unto all that I command thee, and wilt walk in my Ways (e), &c.

O

which

(a) *i Kin. xi. 11.* (b) ————— *31, 7.* (c) *Bradb. Son of Tabeal.* (d) *i Kin. xiii. 15.* *2 Chr. x. 15.* (e) *i Kin. xi. 38.*

which Condition he was the furthest from performing on his part; so that he could found no *Divine Right* upon such Expressions, whatever they were. Neither is it enough to give him a Title to what he could get, or to excuse him from the Guilt of *Treason*, that he was the *Executor of God's Decrees* against his *Lawful Sovereign*. For, if so, *Absalom* had as fair a Pretence to it, according to *Divine Prediction*, where God uses the very same Phrase, saying to *David* *I will raise up Evil against thee, out of thine own House, and I will take thy Wives before thine Eyes and give them unto thy Neighbour, and he shall lie with thy Wives in the Sight of the Sun* (a). And no less plausible was that of *Zimri*, who is recorded to have *destroyed all the House of Baasha, according to the Word of the Lord, which he spake against Baasha, by Jehu the Prophet* (b). Such also was the the Case of *Shallum's killing Zachariah, according to the Word of the Lord* (c). And yet he must have unwarrantable Assurance, who shall pretend from thence, that either *Absalom Zimri*, or *Shallum*, had any *Divine Right* to do as they did, or that they were any other than *Sturdy Rebels*.

And it is very well worthy of our Remark, in Relation to the *Publick Good* of such *Revolutions*, That *God Almighty*, in punishing *Irregular Princes* commonly makes use of the greatest *Tyrants*, and most hardened *Sinners*, to be the *Firebrands of his Wrath*, that by means of their *Cruelty* and want of *Clemency*, his People might the sooner be reduced to a due Sense of *Religion* and *Loyalty*; which are inseparable Companions. Thus he suffered certain of the *worst of the Heathen Nations* to remain among his People, in the Land of Promise

(a) 2 Sam. xvi. 11. (b) 1 Kin. xxi. 12. (c) 2 King xv.
12.

Promise, as Thorns in their Sides, that through them he *might prove* his People *Israel* (a). Thus *David*, for his Sins, was punished by his most *Undutiful, Unnatural, and Rebellious Son* (b) : Thus the *Idolatrous House of Ahab* was destroyed and rooted out by *Jehu* an *Idolater*, and *Hazaël*, a *Monster of Men* ; both of them expressly raised up for that purpose (c) : And the Sins of *Solomon* here were punished by *Jeroboam*, whose peculiar Characteristick it is, that himself did *Sin, and made Israel to Sin* (d).

Such, and none other, was the Foundation of his Government. For *Jeroboam* himself, though he was indeed the *Instrument of God's Vengeance* against the House of *Solomon*, for their *Idolatry* and other Sins (e), yet, because he and his Party did not regard the *Will of the Lord* in their Revolt but their own mutinous *Will* and *Humour*: therefore are they Condemned by the *Lord*, for having set up Kings, but not by him, Princes and he knew it not (f); so that the *Voice of the People* was not the *Voice of God*! And so is that *Revolution* called a *Rebellion*, and consequently is not to be drawn into *Precedent*.

Neither is it strange, that he should break through the Laws of *Succession*, who, in the framing of his *New-Government*, forsook the very Fundamental Laws of *Religion*, and fell away from the *Lord*, to the Worship of *Idols*? For, after he had rent the *Kingdom* from the House of *David*, he found it Necessary, for the better supporting himself therein, to make a *Schism* in the *Church* too. And, for this he found a *Precedent* in the

Altar

(a) *Judg. ii. 3, — 22.* (b) *2 Sam. xii. 9. — xv. 13.* (c)
2 Kin. x. 29. — viii. 12. 1 Kin. xix. 15. (d) — *xiv.*
16. &c. (e) *1 Kin. xi. 11.* (f) *Hos. viii. 4.* (g) *1 Kin. xii.*
19. 2 Chro. x. ix. — xiii. 6.

Altar, which *Aaron* (through an inexcusable Weakness) had erected to his *Molten Calf* in the Wilderness; Not considering, how much the *Lord* was provoked to Anger thereby, and what an *Atonement* (a) was made, before *Aaron*, and his *Adherents*, could be cleared from the *Malady* and *Contagion* of that *Schism*.

Thus we see the *Frailities* and *Infirmities* of *Good Men*, are oftentimes sought out, to justify, or excuse the *Impieties* and *Immoralities* of *Wicked Ones*; though 'tis most certain, that Ten Thousand *Precedents* are not Sufficient to legitimate one *Act* which is either *Unlawful* in it self, or expressly prohibited by the *Law of God*. Accordingly *Jeroboam*, knowing, that *true Religion* is no Friend to an *Unjust Title*, made two *Calves* for the People to Worship; saying *Behold thy Gods O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt* (b). And for this he pretended the *Publick Good*, and the *Benefit*, as well as *Ease*, which would arise to the People, by a *Toleration* or *Indulgence* in respect of the *Uniform Worship* established in the *Temple of the Lord*: *It is too much for you* (said he) *to go up to Jerusalem* — ! Whereas, in truth, his only Aim was his own *Private Interest*. For (whatever he declared with his Lips) he said in his *Heart*, now shall the *Kingdom return to the House of David*: If these People go up to *Sacrifice in the House of the Lord*, at *Jerusalem*, then shall the *Heart of this People turn again unto their Lord*, even unto *Rehoboam*, King of *Judah*, and they shall kill me, and go again to *Rehoboam*, King of *Judah*, (c). So conscious was *Jeroboam* himself of his *Usurpation*, that he could not but, in his own *Heart*, confess the *Right* of *Rehoboam*

(a) *Exod. xxii.* — *Deut. ix.* — (b) *1 Kin. xii. 28.* (c)
1 Kin. xii. 26.

boam (that he was their *Lord* still, notwithstanding himself was in Possession of the Kingdom of *Israel*, with the full Consent of the People thereof) and the Capital Punishment which himself deserved and might justly expect (to be killed) for his Rebellion and *Usurpation*; A plain Evidence this, that *Zehoboam* had not lost his Title to the *Ten Tribes* by that *Revolution*; and that *Possession* and the *People's Consent* and *Recognition* is no *Sufficient Title to a Throne*, in such *Hereditary Countrys*, especially (as *Mr. Whiston Suggests*) *in Barr to Primogeniture* (a)!

He knew he had no Reason to trust in *God*, to establish him, in what ('tis plain) he was only permitted to possess. And therefore, he contrived to make *New Gods*! and a *New Worship*! which should save the People the *Trouble of going up to serve God*, (according to his own Command) at *Jerusalem*, and consecrated *Priests*, suitable thereto, of the *Loveliest of the People* (b), (as most fit to serve his Turn); well knowing, that, to keep his People in *Forgetfulness* and *Ignorance* of the *True God*, was the most likely way to keep them from recovering a Sense of their *Natural Allegiance* to their *Lawful King*! which verifies the Observation of a *Learned Divine*, that "whatever the *Pretences* are, how fair and popular soever, in the Opposition Men make to Authority, Ambition and private Discontents are the true Beginners of them: But these must be covered over with the deepest *Dissimulation*, with most vehement *Protestations* to the contrary; nothing must be talked of, but a mighty Zeal for Religion and the Publick Interest. — But if Fair *Pretences*, and Glorious *Titles* will serve to cheat the People into their own *Miseries*, and the

(a) *Script. Pol.* p. 20.(b) *I Kin. xii, 13.*

“ the sad Effects of *Rebellion*, they shall never want
 “ those who will *enslave* them for the sake of
 “ *Liberty*, *undo* them for the *Publick Good*, and de-
 “ *stroy* them with designs of *Reformation*. For
 “ nothing is more popular than *Rebellion* in the
 “ beginning, nothing less in the Issue of it. And
 “ the only true Reason that it is ever so, is from
 “ the want of *Wisdom* and *Judgment* in the Ge-
 “ nerality of Mankind, who seldom see to the
 “ End of Things, and hardly distinguish between
 “ the Names and Nature of them, till their own
 “ dear-bought Experience hath taught them the
 “ Difference ” (a).

Thus the *Ten Rebellious Tribes*, breaking off from, and setting up a *False Altar* of their own, against the *True One* of Judah, were guilty of the dreadful Sin of *Schism*, though they were the much greater Number: And therefore, whoever joined with them, did but *Follow a Multitude to do Evil*, contrary to God’s express Command (b); whereby we are taught, that it is not the *Number of the Advocates*, but the *Weight and Truth of the Cause*, that is, to be regarded.

This the *Priests of the Lord*, and the *Levites* and such others as feared God, were truly sensible of; as appears by their Leaving their Possessions, *Withdrawing* from the Communion of the Schismatics, and *Reconciling* themselves to the *True Church* and their *Lawful King*. For the Priests, and the Levites, that were in all Israel resorted to him (*King Rehoboam*) out of all their Coasts —, And, after them, out of all the Tribes of Israel, such as set their Hearts to seek the *Lord God of Israel*, came to Jerusalem, to *Sacrifice unto the Lord God of their Fathers*

(a) *Stillingfl. Serm.* 30 January 1668. p. 14. (b) *Exod.* xxiii.
 2. (c) *2 Chro.* xi. 13.

thers ---. And this was the Reason, because Jeroboam, and his Sons, had, by pretended State-Acts, Deprived them, and cast them off from Executing the Priest's Office unto the Lord, and had Ordained him Priests for the High Places, and for the Devils, and for the Calves which he had made (a); which was the very Commencement of the Schism.

And in this miserable State of Rebellion and Schism (together with the Natural Consequents thereof, Idolatry and other Immorality in Worship), the Ten Tribes continued, till they were enslaved, and led into Captivity: Amongst all their Nineteen Kings, not having one, who feared God, but this is the Character of them all, that they Sinned, and made Israel to Sin; Neither was there any Regular Succession or Government among them, but by making Parties among the People, one forcibly pulled down another, and by the like Force (only) Reigned in his stead.

In this Apostacy of the Ten Tribes, it is observable, That a Prophet of the Lord was expressly sent to Bethel, to cry against the Altar which Jeroboam had Schismatically set up, in Opposition to the Altar of the Lord at Jerusalem: And though he was much importuned, to refresh himself there, he utterly refused it, saying, *If thou wilt give me half thine House, I will not go in with thee, neither will I eat Bread, nor drink Water in this Place; for so it was charged me by the Word of the Lord* (b).

Afterwards, though the Lord did not think fit, to suffer Rehoboam to reduce Israel to his Obedience, yet he gave them into the Hands of Abijah his Son, who, with an Army of Four Hundred Thousand (in a most Exemplary manner) defeated Jeroboam's Army of Eight Hundred Thousand, killing Five Hundred

(a) 2 Chro. xi. 13. (b) 1 Kin. xiii. 8.

dred Thousand of them on the Spot (a). Which was the most compleat, and remarkable Victory, that we read of in the whole Bible, and something more than a bare Deliverance (b) (as Mr. Whiston affects to call it): For it was a most wonderful Providence (if he will allow that Providence ever appears on the Right Side!) in favour of Hereditary Right, against Possession by Popular Election. And this, Mr. Whiston could not but have clearly distinguished, if he had perused it Impartially (as he pretends): For the Text is not, that God delivered Judah out of the Hand of Israel, but God delivered Israel into the Hand of Judah. Neither did the Usurper die without some remarkable Judgment from God; for the Text says, the Lord Strook him (c).

Here I must beg my Reader's Patience, whilst I give him an Abstract of this Chapter, which contains so Solemn an Appeal to, and signal Interposition and Appearance of the Lord himself, in favour of the Right Heir of the House of David.

When the Battle was set in Array, Abijah stood up, and addressing himself to the Usurper Jeroboam, and all his Army, said, Ought ye not to know, That the Lord God of Israel gave the Kingdom over Israel, to David for ever, even to him and to his Sons by a Covenant of Salt. Yet Jeroboam — is risen up, and hath Rebelled against his Lord! And there are gathered unto him Cain, the Children of Belial! and have strengthened themselves against Rehoboam, the Son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was Young and Tender-hearted, and could not withstand them! And now ye think to withstand the Kingdom of the Lord in the Hand of the Sons of David: and ye be a great Multitude, and there are with

(a) 2 Chron. xiii. 17.
Chron. xiii. 20.

(b) Script. Pol. p. 36.

(c) 2

with you Golden Calves, which Jeroboam made you for Gods! Have ye not cast out the Priests of the Lord — and have made you Priests after the manner of the Nations? — But as for us, the Lord is our God, and we have not forsaken him; and the Priests which Minister unto the Lord are the Sons of Aaron — for we keep the Charge of the Lord our God, but ye have forsaken him! And behold, God himself is with us for our Captain, and his Priests with Sounding Trumpets, to cry alarm against you! O Children of Israel, fight ye not against the Lord God of your Fathers, for ye shall not prosper!

In which Speech, 'tis observable, that *Abijah* insists positively, That the *Lord* had given the Kingdom of *Israel* to *David* and to his Heirs for ever, in due Course of Succession; and that such his Divine Hereditary Right thereto, was by a Covenant (or Ordinance, or Institution) never to be altered, that is to say, Indefeasible: He Charges *Jeroboam* with Rebellion against his *Lord*, and withstanding the Kingdom of the *Lord* in the Hand of the Sons of *David*; and finally assures them, that in fighting against him, they fought against the *Lord God*, and therefore should not prosper. All which would have been very Improper and Impertinent for him to have mentioned, especially in so solemn and Publick an *Appeal* (and *Jeroboam* or his Party, might easily have objected it to him, as such) if he had not been the Right Heir of the House of *David*, as I have proved him to have been.

I might likewise have observed, how he upbraids the *Usurper* with Casting out the Priests of the *Lord* under Pretence of his Lay-Deprivations, and Intruding others into their Offices by State-Acts, and Imposing a New-State-Religion upon the Multitude, &c. But I shall waive the further Consideration of these Particulars, at present.

However this Speech of his had no Effect upon the Audience. For *Jeroboam* (who trusted not in God, but in his own Strength and Policy, as Usurpers usually do) caused an Ambushment to come about behind them — And when Judah looked back, behold the Battle was before and Behind; and they cried unto the Lord, And — God smote Jeroboam and all Israel, before Abijah and Judah, and God delivered them into their Hand — neither did Jeroboam recover Strength again in the Days of Abijah; and the Lord strook him, and he died.

After the Death of *Jeroboam*, his Son *Nadab* was scarce warm in the Throne, when *Baasha* slew him, and reigned in his stead; destroying the whole House of *Jeroboam* (a).

He dying left his Son *Ela*, to be served as himself had served *Nadab* (b).

Zimri, having destroyed the House of *Baasha*, and usurped the Sovereignty for seven Days, at length, being freightened by *Omri*, became his own Executioner (c).

Then were the People of Israel divided into two Parts: Half — followed Tibni — to make him King; and half followed Omri. Upon which Division (as is common where the Peop'e take upon them to chuse their King) there ensued a Civil War: But the People that followed Omri prevailed — ; so Tibni died, and Omri reigned (d).

Omri, by this Conquest, and the People's Election, seemed to have a Providential Settlement: And was succeeded by his Son *Ahab*; and he by his Son *Ahaziah*; and he by his Brother *Jehoram* (b). And his Succession is recorded (as a strong Proof of

(a) — 1 Kin. xv. 27. (b) — xvi. 1. (c) —
xvi. 18. (d) — xvi. 21, 22. (e) 1 Kin. xvi. 28.
— xxii. 40, 2 Kin. i. 17.

of the Right of Proximity of Blood) with this Reason, because Ahaziah had no Son; and therefore *Jehoram* was the Next of Kin, according to the Law of Inheritances (*a*); which is as much as to inform us, that *Jehoram* could have had no Right to the Crown, if there had been any one Nearer of Kin to it than himself. But however, so far was that Providential Right (as they call it), or the Prescription of Eight and Forty Years Possession, from securing the Establishment of the House of Omri, that *Je-hu*, by Express Commission from God, destroyed that whole House and Kindred (*b*).

In this Place, we read, in that vastly populous Kingdom of *Israel* (which, in *Jeroboam's* time, could afford an Army of Eight Hundred Thousand Fighting Men at once) that the Church of God consisted but of Seven Thousand Souls, who had not complied with the prevailing Iniquity of the Times, including all the Knees which had not bowed unto Baal, and every Mouth which had not kissed him (*c*). Such an Infinite Disproportion was there betwixt the Orthodox and the Schismaticks in those Days! And when *Jehoram* went down (with the King of *Edom*) to *Elisha*, the Prophet said unto him, *What have I to do with Thee? Get thee to the Prophets of thy Father, and to the Prophets of thy Mother* — (meaning the False Prophets, who hardened him in his Schism, and countenanced him in his Idolatry); declaring to him, *As the Lord of Hosts liveth, before whom I stand, surely, were it not that I regard the Presence of *Jehosophat*, the King of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee.* So much was the Respect, which the Prophet paid to a Lawful and Orthodox Prince, different from his Behaviour to a Schismatick and Usurper (*d*)!

(*a*) *Numb.* xxvii. 8. (*b*) *2 R.* v. 14. (*c*) *1 Kin.* xix. 18.
 (*d*) *2 Kin.* iii. 13.

This *Jehoram* was slain by *Jehu*, who reigned in his Stead (a) : And yet *Jehu* himself being an Idolater, shews, that his Dominion was not founded in Grace. However, he having fulfilled the express Commandment of the Lord, his Family held the Possession of the Sovereign Power above One Hundred Years (by the Promise of the Lord) to the Fourth Generation.

Yet, no sooner was the prescribed Term expired, but *Shallum* destroy'd the Posterity of *Jehu* (b) : And having usurp'd the Throne one Month, was destroyed by *Menahem* his Successor (c). And *Menahem* dying, his Son *Pekabiah* was destroyed by *Pekah* (d) : And he by *Hosea* (e) ; who continued the Usurpation till they were all together led into Captivity by *Shalmanezar*, King of *Affyria* (f), and never were heard of more as a Kingdom or People ; all those that we meet withal now in the World being the Posterity of the Loyal Tribe of *Judah*.

However, tho' the Succession of *Israel* was not so regularly maintain'd, as it was in *Judah*, by a continu'd Chain of *Hereditary Descent* : Yet, even here too, whoever obtained the Crown, and left it in Peace, was always succeeded by his Son, or other next Heir, according to the Law of Nature. Such was the uninterrupted Succession of *Jeroboam* and *Nadab* (his Son) ; of *Baasha* and *Ela* (his Son) ; of *Omri* and *Ahab*, *Ahaziah* and *Jehoram* (his Son and two Grandsons) ; of *Jehu* and *Jehoahaz*, *Joash*, *Jeroboam* and *Zachariah* (his Son, Grandson, Great Grandson, and Great Great Grandson) ; and of *Menahem* and *Pekabiah* (his Son) ; as more fully appears in the foregoing History. And, of all the Revolutions among

(a) 2 Kin. x. 29, 30. (b) 2 Kin. xv. 10. (c) — 14. (d) — 25. (e) — 30. (f) — xvi. 6.

mong them, none are justified except that of *Jehu* only: Nor that any otherwise than for that he had an express Warrant from the Lord, for what he did, and was himself a King (*a*), before he made any Attempt upon his Master. And, as for the rest, tho' God Almighty doth oftentimes raise up (or rather permit) certain Rebels to be his Instruments of Wrath, to punish Irregular Princes (as it is his sole Prerogative to do, he not being bound to those Laws which he prescribeth to others): Yet, unless they have an Express Warrant from him, as *Jehu* had, they are but Rebels still. And therefore, it follows, (as an Author before quoted well observes) that "it is Treason for any Subjects, upon the specious Pretence of Executing God's Decree and Vengeance, to raise War, make Sedition, to Depose and Kill their Lawful Prince" (*b*)!

THUS have I gone through the whole History of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, with due Care and Impartiality: And now (though I am not obliged to it by my present Undertaking) I shall just cast my Eye abroad in the World; wherein, that the same Regard was had to this Hereditary Descent, by Proximity of Blood, even universally among the Nations also, we may gather, from these few Evidences following.

When *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*, desired *Abraham* to enter into Covenant with him, Swear unto me (says he) —— that thou wilt not deal falsely with me nor with my Son, nor with my Son's Son (*c*). —

That the Kingdom of *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, was Hereditary, we find, where we read, that the Lord smote all the First-born, —— from the First-born of *Pharaoh*, that sat on the Throne, (*d*) &c. or (as it is

(*a*) *Kin. ix. 6.* (*b*) *Jenner's Prerog of Primogen. p. 35.* (*c*) *Gen. xxii. 23.* (*d*) *Exod. xii. 29.*

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is in some Translations) that was to sit on his Throne : And again, where it is said, in the Person of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Son of the Ancient Kings* (*a*). To which we may add, what is well observed by our *Judicious Countryman*, to put the Matter out of all Controversy. “The *Crown Royal* (says he) always passed by *Descent*, and not by *Election* : Which (besides *Consent of Authors*) the *Scriptures* also prove. For, whereas *Joseph* bought all the *Land* of Egypt for *Pharaoh*, if the Crown had passed by *Election*, then should *Pharaoh’s Children* here-by either have been enthralld, among the rest of the People, to the next Successor, or, en-joying their *Father’s Land*, tho’ not his Estate (or Royal Dignity), have been more mighty than the *King*, as *Landlords* of all Egypt, and the *King* himself their *Tenant*” (*b*).

When *Nabush*, the King of the Children of *Ammon*, died, *Hanun his Son*, reigned in his Stead (*c*).

In the Answer, which the King of *Tyre* return’d to *Solomon’s Message*, he tells him, he has sent him Workmen of *Huram his Father* (*d*) ; which shews, that he was his *Father’s Heir* in that Kingdom.

When the King of *Moab* sacrificed his Eldest Son, it is written, that he took his Eldest Son that thou’d have reigned in his stead (*e*), or (as *Josephus* expresses it) who ought in right to succeed him in the Kingdom (*f*).

By *Belshazzar’s* inheriting his *Father* (*g*), Nebuchadnezzar’s Kingdom, we may perceive it was the Rule in those Countries.

From which Hints (and several others in the *Holy Scriptures*), we may conclude the General Extent

(*a*) Isa. xix. 11. (*b*) Raleigh, fol. 200. (*c*) 2 Sam. x. 1.
1 Chro. xix. 1. (*d*) 2 Chro. ii. 13. (*e*) 2 Kin. iii. 27. (*f*) Antiq. Jud. l. ix. c. i. (*g*) Dan. v. 2.

tent of the *Law of Nature* amongst all *Nations*: But as that may be more amply made appear from other *Authors*, this may suffice here.

AS TO the *Cesars*, (or *Roman Emperours*) that is, the *Higher Powers*, to whom our *Blessed Saviour* and his *Apostles*, have taught us to *submit* our selves, their particular Titles are not to be ascertained from the *Holy Scriptures*: But as it is very proper, to know somewhat thereof, for the better understanding the Nature and Extent of that Duty of *Submission*, the following Extract has been made, with all due Brevity, from *Authors* of Undoubted Credit.

But, to obviate all *Objections*, as if (according to the foregoing *History*) in order to entitle these *Roman Emperours* to the *Obedience* of their *Subjects*, for *Conscience sake*, I ought first to prove every one of them to have had a strict *Hereditary Right* to the Throne, I find it necessary to premise, That, tho' "*Conquest*, in it self, is but a false *Gloss*, put on "the worst and blackest of Crimes, Injustice, Rob-
"bery, and Cruelty (a)", and therefore can give no Prince any better Title to a *Crown*, than an *High-way-man* has to any *Purse* he can catch: Yet, 'tis agreed, by all *Casuists*, That *Power*, howsoever unlawfully obtained, may be *Legitimated*, and commence *Authority*, either, by *Express Revelation* from *God Almighty*, as that of *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon* did, or by the utter *Extinction* and *Failure* of all those who have a *prior Right*, like that of *Aba-ziah*, abovementioned (b), or else by the *Sub-mission*, and *Disclaimer* of him to whom the *Crown of Right* belongs: In any of which Cases, 'tis agreed, the *Possessor* becomes duly *Authorized*, and entitled

(a) *Burnet's Serm.* 31 Decem. 1706. (b) *Page 84.*

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entitled to the Allegiance of his Subjects, by what Means soever he became possēt of the Power, because he then requires nothing of them, but what is in their own Power, and they are at Liberty to pay him, without doing Wrong to any Third Person; for that is the great Objection against Submission to Powers *de facto*, so long as there are any others claiming, *de Jure*.

Now, to apply this to the Case before us. It is not denied, but that upon our Saviour's appearing in the Flesh, the Sceptre was departed from Judah, and the Jews were become Subjects to the Romans, by the Deditio[n] or Submission of *Hyrcanus*: But the Controversy is, whether the Emperours then reigning (to whom the Subjection was commanded in the Gospel) were Lawful Emperours? Or whether the Subjection were due to them as to the Powers for the Time in being, without any Respect had to the Legality or Illegality of their Titles?

This being the Question, we must observe, That *Augustus* was upon the Throne when our Saviour was born: and therefore we must enquire into his Title, as well as those of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Clau-dius* and *Nero*; who are all that come within the Compass of this Controversy. And all these were Lawful Emperours, as in the following Extract will be made appear.

For (not to insist here upon the Manner of acquiring it, which indeed was by Resisting and Rebelling against their Kings, as all other popular States and Common-wealths began) the Supreme Power was vested in the Senate of Rome, as Representatives of the People: And that, without any Claim or Pretension kept up by their Kings, or any other Competition to the contrary; so that they were then lawfully possēt of the Government, in the same manner, as our Neighbours the Dutch, have been, ever since the Kings of Spain drop'd their Claim of Sovereignty.

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over them. I say, the *Supreme Power* was thus lawfully in the *Senate*, without any *Competition*, when **JULIUS CÆSAR**, having overcome *Pompey*, made himself *Absolute Master* of the *Liberties of Rome*: But the *Senate and People*, who before had it in their own Hands, having immediately made him a Compliment thereof for his *Life*, that *Act of theirs* gave him a good *Right* and *Authority* to what he had before in his *Power*; so that he was undoubtedly their *Lawful Sovereign* from thenceforwards, without any *Competition*, so long as he liv'd, and was obey'd by them as such. Nor was that all. For he was received with the greatest Joy imaginable, and invested with such *Honours* and *Power*, as they had never before conferred on any. In short, they made him *all that was Great*, and never thought they had enough to bestow upon him; till he, beginning to *Exercise* the *Power* they had given him, was *Assassinated*, in the *Senate House*, under Pretence of the *Publick Good*, and restoring the *Liberty of the Subject*; and that too, by a Sett of *Conspirators*, who were all under the greatest *Personal Obligations* to him.

But " *Publick Good, Reformation of Abuses, and Zeal for Religion*, are ever pretended, and as constantly invaded, in the Course of such Proceedings, till at last, the Well-meaning, that for the Sake of these were drawn in to assist, find themselves cheated out of them all (a)". Thus the *People* soon finding themselves disappointed of the Advantages which the *Conspirators* had flatter'd them withal, began to Mutiny, and burn their Houses (*as they deseru'd*); which gave **Octavius Augustus** a fair Opportunity to ingratiate himself with the *Senate and People*, by pursuing the

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Regicides

(a) Chandl. 30 Jan. 1717. p. 27.

Regicides to Death. After which, and his Victory over his *Competitors*, he so wrought upon the *Senate*, that they besought him earnestly to take the *Empire* upon himself alone. Whereby all the *Authority* of the *Senate and People* being freely and voluntarily transferred and confirm'd to *Augustus*, by their own *Act*, the *Imperial Power* thenceforwards became a *Legal Constitution*, and was indeed *Thoroughly settled and established* in him; as is acknowledg'd, by Dr. *Stillingfleet* (a), as well as by all other *Writers*. Nay, and so forward were they, in investing him with the *Supreme Power*, that (as the same *Learned Author* (b) observes from *Dio*, they offer'd to bind their *Allegiance* to him by *Oaths*: which however he wisely refused, for this Reason; “He considered well, that if they gave their free *Consent*, they would do what they promised without *Swearing*, and if they did not, all the *Oaths* in the *World* would not make them.”

Thus was he confessedly a *Lawful Sovereign*, in Obedience to whose *Decree*, *Joseph* and *Mary* (then big with *Child*) went up to *Jerusalem*, to be *Taxed* (c); and in whose Time our *Blessed Saviour* chose to appear in the *Flesh*.

Augustus dying, *Tiberius* (whom he had adopted, and made his Partner in the *Empire*) was left with the *Power* in his hand, and without any *Rival*, (no *Pretender* appearing to put in a *Claim* against him): So that “*Roma rure in Servitium Consules, Patres, Equites* (d)”. The *Romans*, of all Degrees, crowded, to shew their Forwardness to Subject themselves to him. And, after many earnest Entreaties on the one part, and feigned Refusals on the other,

(a) *Unreas. New Separat.* p. 39. (b) *Ibid* p. 40. (c) *St. Luke ii. i.* (d) *Tacit. Ann. l. i.*

other, he was at length, *quasi Coactus* (a), as it were compelled, or forced, with some seeming Reluctancy, to take the Government upon him, as a Man does a Burthen upon his Shoulders; meerly to oblige the People.

Thus was this *Emperour* in the Throne, during all the time of our *Saviour's* Preaching. And, as he had all the *Right* that was then required, according to the *Constitution* of that *Empire*: So was that *Right* confirmed to him by our *Saviour* himself, who was the *Natural-born King* of the *Jews* (b); and whose *Pedigree* is derived in a direct Line of *Hereditary Descent*, from *Abraham*, by *St. Matthew* (c), and from *Adam* by *St. Luke* (d). For, when the *Question* was put to him, concerning the *Payment of Tribute* to *Cesar* (e), he did not only determine it in favour of *Cesar*, as a *Duty* to him, but likewise, to make it still more Exemplary, he wrought a *Miracle* to pay the same for himself: And when the *People* would have taken him by force to make him a King, he departed into a *Mountain* himself alone (f). Nor did he only thus waive his *Claim*, and submit himself to *Cesar*, but he declared also, That his *Kingdom* was not of this *World*: If my *Kingdom* were of this *World* (said he) then would my Servants fight (g); Expressing thereby the great *Duty* indispensably incumbent upon all *Subjects*, in *General*, to assist and fight for their *Natural Sovereign*, whenever his *Service* requires it. For what a *Modern Divine* says of *English-Men*, is equally true, of all *Subjects*, that they are all "born Subjects to their Lawful Prince: And tho' they have never taken any Oath of Allegiance to him, they are as much liable — as if they had been under the Obligation

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(a) *Sueton p. 24.* (b) *St. Matt. ii. 2.* (c) — *Chap. i.* (d)
— *Chap. iii.* (e) *St. Mat. xxii. 21.* — *xvii. 27.* (f) *St.*
(g) *Sixtus qof* — *xviii. 36.*

“ on of a Thousand Solemn Oaths and Promises
 (a) ” : And that “ the Subjects or Servants of all
 “ Lawful Princes, are obliged, by the very Nature
 “ of Government and the Agreement of all Man-
 “ kind, to endeavour by force of Arms, if other-
 “ wise they cannot, to rescue and defend their
 “ Sovereigns, from any Injuries offered them by
 “ any of their Enemies ” (b). But as, in this
 particular Case, our Blessed Saviour did not make
 any *Claim of his Right* : So neither would he suffer
 his *Followers* to Resist the *Civil Power* which him-
 self had *Authorized*, though, at that very Instant,
 it was employed on a most *Wicked Design* (even
 no less than the Death of the *Saviour of the World*),
 but sharply reproved Peter’s *Unwarrantable Zeal* ;
 declaring that *all they that take (assume, or Usurp)*
the Sword, shall perish with the Sword (c). And give
 me leave here to borrow a just *Conclusion* of a
Great Man now living, from this very Case, that “ if
 “ neither the Malice of the *Jews*, nor the Inno-
 “ cence of our Lord ; if neither the Truth of our
 “ Religion persecuted in its Founder, nor the ap-
 “ parent Marks of *Malice* and *Envy*, of *Violence*
 “ and *Oppression*, which appeared in the whole
 “ Course of their Prosecution of him, were Suffici-
 “ ent to warrant St. Peter to draw the *Sword* in his
 “ Defence, against that *Legal Authority* by which
 “ they acted ; We must Conclude, that neither
 “ will any of these *Pretences* Suffice to justify
 “ any other *Christians*, in the like Circumstances,
 “ now : But if it shall please God, at any time, to
 “ permit the *Lawful Powers* to be against *us*, and
 “ make them that hate us to Rule over us, we
 “ must follow the Example of our blessed Ma-

“ ster,

(a) Milbourne. 30 Jan. 1707. p. 5.
 p. 30. (b) St. Matt. xxvi. 52.

(c) Id. 30 Jan. 1715.

"ster, and submit Patiently to their Authority,
" and not, with this warm *Apostle*, take the *Sword*
" against those, to whom God has committed the
" Power of the Sword" (a). And this he very
properly calls the true *Christian Doctrine* of *Sub-*
mission (or, in other Words, *Passive Obedience* and
Non-Resistance) to the *Civil Magistrate*. For this our
Blessed *Saviour* himself taught us, when he *patiently*
submitted himself to die by the Judgment of *Pilate*
(who acted by the *Lawful Emperor's Commission*),
acknowledging, that his *Power* was given him *from*
above (b).

And, that the *Jews* paid all this *Submission* to the
Emperor, as a Duty to their *Lawful Sovereign*,
we may gather from the Rage or Fury wherewith
they prosecuted our *Saviour* as an *Enemy* to *Cæsar*.
When they brought him before *Pilate*, they accu-
sed him with *Perverting the Nation*, and *forbidding*
to give Tribute to Cæsar (c)! When *Pilate* shewed an
Inclination to release him, they cried out, *If thou let*
this Man go thou are not Cæsar's Friend (d)! And
again, when he said unto them, *Shall I Crucify your*
King? the *Chief Priest* answered, *we have no King*
but *Cæsar* (e); thereby expressly affirming, that
Cæsar was their *Lawful Sovereign*.

Such was the Right of *Tiberius*, by whose Au-
thority our *Blessed Saviour* was put to Death. But
I can't leave it, without this Remark, relating to
the rash *Resistance* of that *Authority*, That, as *Peter*
(from whom the *Pope* pretends to claim his *Su-*
premacy) was the Person *resisting*, so the Person
wounded and miraculously healed again, was called
Malchus (f) (which in the *Original* signifies a *King*)
not without a Mystery, to shew us the *Unlawfulness*
of that *Unchristian Doctrine* of *killing and Depo-*
sing

(a) *Wake's Serm. before the Lords 30 Jan. 1707.* (a) *St. Job. xix. 11.* (c) *St. Luk. xxiii. 11.* (d) *St. Job. xix. 12.* (e)

— 25. (f) *St. Luke xxii. 51, St. Job. xviii. 10.*

sing Lawful Kings, so much contended for by some of the worst of Papists, and from them taken up by the worst of those who call themselves Protestants!

After *Tiberus's Death*, *Caligula* (who was the People's Darling for his Father's sake) by the joint Consent of the Senate and People, was declared Emperour, and the whole Sovereign Power (a) lodg'd in his Hands: But, being in a short time slain by some of the Disappointed People, he was succeeded by a Riotous Anarchy (as is Common in all Elective Kingdoms), till *Claudius* was found out and raised to the Throne, by Common Consent. And he, having adopted *Nero*, his Succession was easily accomplished after *Claudius's Death*.

During all which Successions, there is not indeed the least Footstep of a Lineal Hereditary Descent in the Roman Empire, but the Succession to the Imperial Throne was Elective, Casual, Uncertain, and Arbitrary: and whosoever obtained the Sovereign Power by the Consent of the Senate and People, was the Undoubted Lawful Sovereign, according to the Constitution of the Roman Empire. Because (as I said before) there was, after that, no such thing as a Competition for the Throne, nor any Pretender to a better Title: And, I believe, 'tis agreed on all Sides, that Possession, howsoever obtained, must be presum'd to be Rightful, until a better Title appears. So that, in a Word, I shall make no doubt of all the above-named Emperours being Lawfully possessed of the Sovereign Power, at least, till I am inform'd who were better intitled thereto, and whether such better Title was kept up, and asserted, in Opposition to the Possessor; that is (as we commonly express it now-a-days), whether there were Princes

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(a) *Sueton.* p. 14.

de Jure, pretending to, or claiming the Throne, against those that were only de Facto in Possession of it. And therefore, to me, it is nothing strange, that St. Paul should Appeal from an *Inferior Magistrate*, to CÆSAR himself (a), who was the *Lawful Supreme Power*; and to whom he had commanded every Soul to be subject for Conscience sake (b). Tho' when we consider the personal Qualifications of that *Cesar*, even *Nero*, a Monster of a Man, it should convince us, that in the *Apostle's Judgment*, when he appealed to him, *Domination was not founded in Grace*.

Nor des it appear, how he would have behav'd himself towards an *Usurper* (with regard to the *Rights of the Lawful Prince*), had he been under one; unless we may guess (as I think we may) from the Word by which the *Holy Ghost* inspir'd him to express and distinguish the *Higher Powers*, to whom he commanded our *Subjection*. For *ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΙ* (which he there and every where else makes Choice of, for that Purpose) being derived from *εξει licet* (which signifies to be *Lawful*), does always, and only, denote *Lawful Powers*: Whereas *ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ*, from *δύναμαι, possum* (which signifies to be *Able*) would have, in General, denoted any kind of *Power*, which a *Man* was *able* to get into his Hands; if the *Apostle's Meaning* had not been particular, as well as his Expression. And it would be a *Blasphemous Presumption* to imagine, that the *Holy Ghost* (by whose Inspiration those *Holy Books* were written) should not use a *Word* proper for his own *Meaning*.

Here I might have further pursu'd the Inquiry, whether the *Christian Doctrine* hath made any Alteration in the Rights of *Kings* and Duty of *Subjects*; or whether that gives any greater Encouragement

(a) *Act. xxv. 10.* (b) *Rom. xiii. ——*

ragement to Faction and Sedition, than the Law did, under the old Mask of Religion and Liberty.
" But it is so far from it, that, what God then declared to be displeasing to him, by such remarkable Judgments (as are herein before related), hath been now more fully manifested by frequent Precepts and vehement Exhortations, by the most weighty Arguments, and the constant Practice of the first and the best of Christians, and by the black Character, which is set upon those, who under a Pretence of Christian Liberty, did despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities, and follow Corah in his Rebellion (a); however they may please themselves with greater Light than former Ages had, in this Matter, they are said to be such, for whom is reserved the Blackness of Darkness for ever (b)!"

Thus have I faithfully perform'd what I promised at the Beginning; And if any thing herein is of Use toward settling the Minds of my Readers, in Matters of so great and universal Concern, I have my End, and shall add no more but this Declaration, That I am as free from Prejudice as any Man living, and therefore shall readily acknowledge and correct any Mistakes or Oversight I may have happened to be guilty of, in this short History, upon due Notice and Conviction thereof, and be thankful for any better Information.

(a) St. Jude, 8, 11, 13. (b) Stillingf. ubi Supr. p. 39.

F I N I S.